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TACITUS

DIALOGUS
AGRICOLA
GERMANIA

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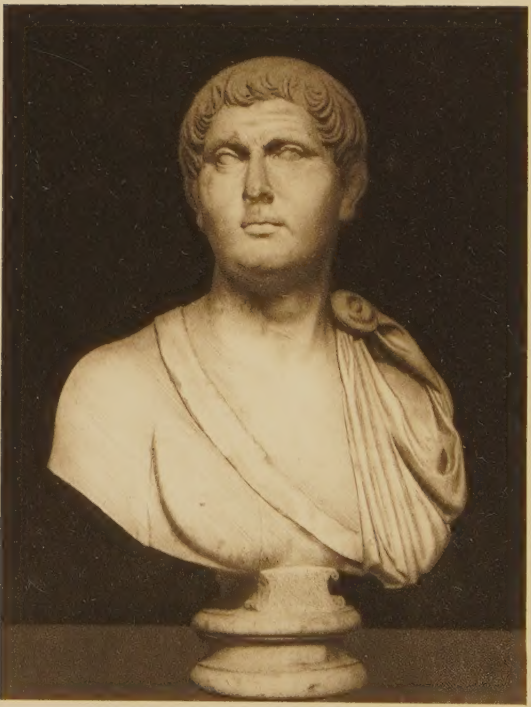

GERMANICUS CAESAR.

CAPITOLINE MUSEUM, ROME.

TACITUS

DIALOGUS
AGRICOLA
GERMANIA

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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THE DIALOGUS OF PUBLIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM PETERSON,
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INTRODUCTION

Every one knows by what a slender thread of transmission some of the greatest of the literary monuments of antiquity have come down to modern times. This is especially the case with the minor works of Tacitus. They have long been known to depend on a single manuscript, and it is part of the romance of their rediscovery that a portion of that manuscript came to light again only ten years ago in a small Italian town.

The first trace of the existence of such a MS. occurs towards the end of the year 1425, when we find Poggio rejoicing in the offer that had been made him by a Hersfeld monk of a codex containing certain unknown works of Tacitus: *aliqua opera Cornelii Taciti nobis ignota.* But the volume never arrived, and Poggio left Rome (1452) without the sight of it. In the interval, however, the Hersfeld brother crossed the Alps more than once again, and in the course of telling him what he thought of him for his failure to fulfil his promise, Poggio may have been able to get the facts about the book he had so greatly coveted. In any case, its recovery followed a few years before Poggio's death. It was in 1451 that Enoch of Ascoli was sent into Northern Europe by Pope Nicholas V to search for Greek and Latin books, and notwithstanding the scepticism of some scholars, it has long been a generally received tradition that it is to this mission of Enoch's that

we owe the recovery of the lost works of Tacitus. Till recently it was understood that what he brought back with him to Rome in 1455 was only a copy of the Hersfeld original. But here comes in an instance of the gradual growth of knowledge.

When it fell to me to edit the *Dialogus* for the Oxford Press (1893) I called attention to a neglected but not unimportant codex now in the British Museum, which contains at the end of the Suetonius fragment *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*—a treatise generally found in fifteenth-century MSS. bound up with the *Dialogus* and the *Germania*—the words *Hic antiquissimum exemplar finit et hoc integrum videtur*.[1] The obvious inference from this note was that, instead of being copied by or for Enoch at Hersfeld, the *antiquissimum exemplar* had actually made its way from Hersfeld to Italy, where as a matter of fact several MSS. of the minor works of Tacitus were produced after the year 1460. Confirmation of this suggestion came to hand when Sabbadini announced, in 1901, the discovery in an Ambrosian MS. of certain references which Pier Candido Decembrio (1399–1477) had entered in his diary, describing a manuscript which he says he had actually seen and handled at Rome in the year 1455, and which contained, in the following order, (1) the *Germania*, (2) the *Agricola*, (3) the *Dialogus*, and (4) the *Suetonius* fragment. And the sequel is even more remarkable. At the International Congress of Historians held at Rome in 1903, intimation was made of the discovery in the library of Count Guglielmi-Balleani at Iesi, in the district of Ancona, of a fifteenth-century codex in which is incorporated a portion (one whole quater-

[1] "Here the very ancient codex comes to an end, and this treatise appears to be complete."

nion) of the *Agricola* from the *antiquissimum exemplar* (tenth century) that Enoch brought from Hersfeld.[1]

The critical problems, such as they are, that have been raised by these discoveries cannot be dealt with here at any length. They centre mainly round the *Dialogus*. It is a testimony to the general faithfulness of the tradition that the text of the *Germania* and the *Agricola* remains on the whole undisturbed. And even for the *Dialogus* the main surviving difficulty turns not so much on textual problems as on the allocation of their parts to the various speakers, and the length of the great lacuna at the end of ch. 35. It is with the *Dialogus* that I must concern myself in the remainder of this brief introduction.

Though its authorship was long considered doubtful, the *Dialogus* is now generally accepted as a genuine work of Tacitus. An obvious discrepancy of style [2] is the only argument that might seem to lead to an opposite conclusion. But, on the other hand, the testimony of the MSS. is unanimous; the general point of view of the writer largely coincides with that of Tacitus as known by his historical works; and there are even striking points of resemblance in diction, syntax, and phraseology. Some recent critics wish to put the date of the publication of the *Dialogus* as late as A.D. 95, or

[1] See Annibaldi, *L'Agricola e La Germania di Cornelio Tacito nel ms. Latino N 8 della biblioteca del Conte G-Balleani in Iesi, Citta di Castello*, 1907, and the same editor's *La Germania* (Leipzig, 1910): also Wissowa's preface to the Leyden facsimile (Sijthoff, Leyden, 1907).

[2] The case of Carlyle has sometimes been cited as a parallel. Speaking of the difference of style between the *Life of Schiller* and the *Diamond Necklace*, Huxley says he often wondered whether if they had come down to us as anonymous ancient manuscripts, "the demonstration that they were written by different persons might not have been quite easy." —*Nineteenth Century*, 1894, p. 4.

even A.D. 97–98 (*i.e.* after Domitian's death), arguing that it shows so many signs of acquaintance with Quintilian's *Institutio* that it cannot have been published before that work, which appeared in A.D. 94–95. But it is impossible to believe that the historian can have written the *Dialogus* as a sort of separate effort, in imitation of Cicero, at the very time when the style which is his most notable characteristic must have taken on the features which it reveals in his next work, the *Agricola*. It seems much more probable that a long interval elapsed between the composition of the *Dialogus* and the date at which, two years after the close of Domitian's sombre reign, Tacitus penned the biography of the great soldier whose son-in-law he was (A.D. 98). In the earlier treatise the author seeks to embody the results of those literary and rhetorical studies by which, following the usual practice of the period, he had prefaced his career at the bar. It must have been written either in the reign of Titus (A.D. 78–81), or in the early years of Domitian's principate. The only difficulty of the former alternative, which is adopted by those who believe that Tacitus did not break the silence which he is known to have imposed on himself under Domitian, is that it gives an interval of not more than seven years from the dramatic date of the debate [1] to which the future historian says he listened when "quite a young man" (*iuvenis admodum*). But

[1] That Tacitus intended his readers to conceive the *Dialogue*, so far as it had any foundation in fact, as having taken place in the sixth year of Vespasian's reign, say in the middle or towards the end of A.D. 74, is fairly obvious from the historical references in ch. 17. There is really no inconsistency in the calculation of 120 years from the death of Cicero, though that would bring us strictly to A.D. 77, instead of 74: "*centum*

at that time of life even seven years represent a great development, and the first alternative remains the more probable of the two. On the other hand, we may take the view, if we prefer it, that Tacitus had failed to discern Domitian's true character in the first years of his principate, or that he had the courage deliberately to speak out about men like Vibius Crispus, who, after gaining a bad reputation under Nero and Vespasian, still survived in the reign of their successors, while not failing at the same time to give expression to an ingenuous appreciation of the advantages inherent in the imperial system. On this supposition we may put the date of the composition of the *Dialogus* as late as A.D. 84–85, when the author would be nearly thirty years of age.

The real subject of the treatise, which is the decadence and dethronement of eloquence, is dealt with in chs. 28–41. What goes before is introductory. To begin with, there is the section (chs. 1–4) which describes the circumstances in which the conversation narrated is pictured as having taken place. The scene is laid in the house of the poet-pleader Maternus,[1] who is obviously intended to figure as the leading personage of the piece. Following the introduction comes the first part of the *Dialogue* proper (chs. 5–13), in which Marcus Aper, a self-made man from Gaul, and now one of the most distinguished leaders of the bar, champions

et viginti anni" is no doubt given as a round figure to represent the outside limit recognised in antiquity for the duration of a human life—"*unius hominis aetas.*"

[1] As was probably the case with all the other interlocutors, Maternus was dead when Tacitus wrote. He had achieved fame under Nero (A.D. 54–68) for a tragedy which he tells us "broke the power of Vatinius" (ch. 11), and has now resolved to forsake the bar in favour of the Muses.

the profession of oratory against that form of *eloquentia* which finds utterance in poetry. Aper is realistic, practical, and utilitarian. His attitude is in effective contrast to that of Maternus, whose short reply (chs. 11–13) is an eloquent revelation not only of a different point of view in regard to the question at issue, but of another way of looking on life. The leading note in the character of Maternus is moral earnestness. With him the practical advantages on which Aper had dwelt are of little weight: he is meditative, reflective, and idealistic. The second part (chs. 14–27) begins with the entrance of Vipstanus Messalla, a man of noble birth and wide accomplishments, who is known to us from the *Histories* (3, 9) as having thrown the weight of his great influence and high personal character into the scale in favour of Vespasian against Vitellius. This part again contains two speeches, one by Aper, the other by Messalla. The former challenges the newcomer to show cause for his well-known preference for the oratory of former days, and for his habitual disparagement of contemporary eloquence. As for himself, Aper does not admit any decadence or decline. The difference between "old" and "new" is to him only a relative difference, and should even be considered, in view of changed conditions, a mark of progress. Messalla, on the other hand, is the champion of antiquity, a "convinced classicist," and his rejoinder (chs. 25–27) consists in a vigorous vindication of the "ancients" and a counter-attack on the "moderns." He is proceeding to cite examples when Maternus breaks in to remind his visitor that the subject on which he had undertaken to speak was not the fact of the decline of eloquence, but the reasons underlying it. These, Messalla says,

are quite obvious. The prime cause, according to him, is the laxity and indifference which nowadays prevail in connection with the training of the young, offering a strong contrast to the careful methods of former times (chs. 28–32). Then there is the superficial training in the practice of declamation, with its fictitious cases and unreal atmosphere (chs. 33–35).[1]

Here Messalla's speech breaks off abruptly, and the problems of the *Dialogue* begin. A great gap occurs in the MSS., which cannot have exceeded in extent one-fourth of the whole treatise, while it may have been less. We have lost in this lacuna the closing portion of Messalla's discourse, and in all probability a contribution also from Secundus.[2] When the text resumes we find a new speaker in possession of the debate, who to all outward appearance is Maternus. The MSS. give chs. 36–41 as one continuous whole, and there is nothing to disconnect the discourse from the words *Finierat Maternus*, with which the last chapter opens. But there are difficulties. It is urged that if chs. 36–41 are a continuous, they are at least not an artistic whole; that, in fact, Maternus repeats himself unnecessarily and even contradicts himself; and,

[1] See the interesting paper on "Declamations under the Empire" by Professor Summers in vol. x of the *Proceedings of the Classical Association* (January 1913), pp. 87–102.

[2] Julius Secundus is known to us from Quintilian (10, 1, 120: 3, 12) as an eloquent speaker, who lacked, however, the qualities of spontaneity and force. It is not out of keeping with his retiring disposition that, though he figures so prominently in what may be called the setting of the stage for the *Dialogue*, he is not mentioned in the last chapter. He has compliments for Aper as well as for Maternus at the end of the first act (ch. 14), but as regards the real issue discussed in chs. 28–41, there was probably little to differentiate him from Maternus.

further, that the first part of his speech would be more appropriate in the mouth of Secundus. It is quite probable, as already stated, that something from Secundus may have fallen out in the great lacuna, but I still adhere to the traditional view which gives chs. 36–41 to Maternus, the leading character of the piece. The attempt to split up these chapters, assigning 36–40, 8 to Secundus, and the rest (after a second lacuna) to Maternus, does not seem either necessary or defensible.[1] Throughout the whole section the last speaker is dealing, not with the moral decadence to which Messalla had addressed himself, but with the changed conditions of public life, in which he finds an additional reason for the decline of eloquence. His point of view is that while republican conditions were more favourable to oratory, as had been the case also in Greece, yet there are

[1] I refer in particular to Gudeman's recent effort (*Classical Philology*, October 1912) to utilise the new manuscript evidence in support of the theory of a second lacuna. The note in Decembrio's diary tells us that after the great gap at the end of ch. 35 the Hersfeld archetype still possessed "*folia duo cum dimidio*" of the *Dialogus*, *i.e.* five pages. Four of these pages Gudeman seeks to show would be exactly taken up by the text as we have it from the beginging of ch. 36 to the point (40, 8) at which another folio is supposed to have been lost—on the assumption that the character of the writing was the same for these pages as it is in the *Agricola* quaternion now surviving in the codex at Iesi. This assumption can be shown, however, to be unfounded, and the theory is further negatived by the fact that the remainder of the text after 40, 8 would require *two* pages more instead of the *one* indicated by Decembrio. The view that what the manuscripts give as a continuous speech by Maternus should be divided into two parts must continue to rest on internal evidence only. See my article in the *American Journal of Philology*, January–March 1913 (xxxiv. 1), pp. 1–14; also G. Andresen in the *Wochenschrift f. klass. Philologie*, February 10, 1913.

compensatory advantages under a more stable form of government. It is with this consoling reflection that he begins what is left of his discourse, and with this he also ends. Eloquence thrives, he says, on disorder, and though there may have been more oratorical vigour under republican conditions, the country had a heavy price to pay in the revolutionary legislation of the Gracchi and in the death of Cicero. The settled calm that now pervades the State is a great compensation for any restrictions upon the sphere of public speaking, and for this we ought to be thankful.

To these representations Messalla would have liked to make a further reply in his capacity of *laudator temporis acti*. But Maternus promises him another opportunity and the meeting is adjourned.

As already stated, Maternus is undoubtedly put forward as the protagonist in the whole discussion. It is he who guides and directs the development of the debate, speaking for Secundus as well as for himself in ch. 16, bringing the real issue into relief in ch. 24, recalling Messalla to his text in ch. 27, and prevailing on him to make a new departure in ch. 33. Maternus is retiring from the profession partly because he has a personal preference for poetry, which he regards as a superior form of utterance (*eloquentia*), and partly because of the narrower limits with which forensic oratory has to content itself now as contrasted with former times. It is his attitude that takes the discussion beyond the bounds set for it in the question which in his very first sentence Tacitus tells us was so often put to him by his friend Fabius Justus. For himself, Maternus needs no proof of the superiority of the "ancients" (24, 11 : 27, 5). At his hands the

representative of modern rhetoric suffers two discomfitures,—once in the discussion on the comparative merits of poetry and oratory, and again in the debate on the "old" and the "new."

The length of his closing speech need not excite any surprise when it is remembered that he is in his own house, and that his note is the reconciliation of opposing tendencies. Moreover it is fairly obvious that Maternus is to be regarded as giving expression to the convictions held by the author of the *Dialogus* himself. The changed conditions both of public life and of forensic practice must have meant a good deal for both of them, and in his resolution no longer to suppress the personal preference he entertained for poetry and the muses, the poet-pleader naturally had the support of the future historian.

It is accordingly in the character of Maternus-Tacitus that the motive and main purpose of the treatise are to be looked for, and it is from this that the *Dialogus* derives its unity, even in its present somewhat mutilated form. The various interlocutors in the debate present us with an interesting picture of the literary and intellectual conditions prevailing at Rome towards the end of the first century. Though full of problems, some of which have not even yet been fully solved, the treatise to which they contribute their several parts is a work of surpassing interest, which amply deserves all the attention it has received from scholars during the last quarter of a century. The *Dialogus* merits the designation which was applied to it after its reappearance in the world of letters: it is really an *aureolus libellus*.

W. P.

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May 1913

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

The text of the *Dialogus*, as also of the *Germania* and the *Agricola*, rests ultimately on the Hersfeld archetype, of which some account has been given in the foregoing Introduction. So far as the *Dialogus* is concerned, this original was transcribed by two copyists whose versions (now no longer extant) stand respectively at the head of what are known as the X family and the Y family, the former consisting of the *Vaticanus* 1862 (A) and the *Leidensis* (B), the latter comprising practically all other codd. The question has been much debated which of these two groups contains the more faithful reproduction of the archetype. Ritter (1848) was the first to use the *Leidensis* for the constitution of his text, and twenty years later Michaelis, following Nipperdey, relied mainly on the *Vaticanus*, holding that these two codd. had together preserved the better tradition. His conclusions were disputed by Scheuer (see the Introduction to my edition published by the Oxford Press, pp. lxxxii–lxxxix), and recent editors incline to rely as fully on Y as on X. In my note on the great lacuna (No. 56, p. 142) I take account of the fact that the extracts from Decembrio's diary are in favour of Y. But it seems safer, for reasons given elsewhere, to adhere to an eclectic method of criticism as between the two families. If any portion of the *Dialogus* had been contained in the quaternion of the Hersfeld archetype which came

to light again so recently at Iesi, the question might have been more definitely settled. But it has nothing except a part of the *Agricola*, and as that treatise does not occur either in the *Vaticanus* or the *Leidensis* we have no adequate basis of comparison. It is significant also that the *Agricola* is not included in the *editio princeps*, published at Venice in 1470 by Vendelin de Spira (editio Spirensis). Obviously this treatise had been dissevered from the Hersfeld codex not long after its reappearance at Rome, and those into whose hands it passed were not prepared at once to make it common property.

After the first edition, the text of the *Dialogus* owed most of its advances, among others, to Puteolanus, who published his first edition at Milan in 1475, and his second at Venice in 1497; Beroaldus (1514); Beatus Rhenanus (1519 and 1533); Lipsius, who brought a new manuscript belonging to the Y family (the *Farnesianus*) into play for his great edition produced at Antwerp in 1574, and reissued nine successive times up to the last Leyden reprint in 1607; Pithoeus, whose third edition appeared at Paris in 1604; Pichena (1607); Gruter (1607); J. Gronovius (1672); Heumann (1719); Ernesti (1752); Brotier (1771); Schulze (1788); Dronke (1828); Orelli (1830); Bekker (1831); Ritter (1848); and Haase (1855).

Of these, Ritter was the first to use the *codex Leidensis*, discovered by Tross in 1841, and fortunately to-day available for students in a facsimile reproduction (Sijthoff, Leyden, 1907). In the same way Ad. Michaelis, following Massmann and Nipperdey, gave a prominent place to the other member of the X family (the *Vaticanus*), and made at the same time (1868) a scientific statement of the interrelationships of all the codd.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

Since Michaelis, and apart from complete editions of the works of Tacitus like those of Halm (fourth edition, 1889) and Müller (1887), the following separate editions of the *Dialogus* may be specially mentioned:

Peter (Jena, 1877).
Baehrens (Leipzig, 1881).
Orelli-Andresen (Berlin, 1884).
Goelzer (Paris, 1887; second edition, but practically unchanged, 1910).
Novak (Prague, 1889).
Valmaggi (Turin, 1890).
Wolff (Gotha, 1890).
Andresen (third edition, Leipzig, 1891).
Peterson (Oxford, 1893).
Bennett (Boston, 1894).
Gudeman (Boston, 1894; smaller edition, 1898).
C. John (Berlin, 1899).
Schone (Dresden, 1899).
H. Röhl (Leipzig, 1911).

The text adopted in this volume is not identical with any previously published. In minor matters of orthography and punctuation I have been guided by the same principles as those which were followed in my edition in the Clarendon Press Series, but otherwise there are important variations and divergences. In several passages both text and interpretation may be said to have gained something from further study. My notes have been limited, in the main, to what I may call residual difficulties. As for the text, it may fairly be regarded, after all the work done by critics and commentators during the last quarter of a century, as embodying as great a degree of finality as is at present attainable.

W. P.

Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat.

Ch. 21, *ad fin.*

Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus, ut aspicere saepius libeat.

Ch. 22, *ad fin.*

Neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

Ch. 30, *ad fin.*

Nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus, per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur debilitatur ac frangitur eloquentia.

Ch. 39.

DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS

P. CORNELII TACITI
DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS

1 Saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat; neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos, horum autem temporum diserti causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. Cui percontationi tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis pondus excipere ut aut de ingeniis nostris male existimandum *sit*, si idem adsequi non possumus, aut de iudiciis, si nolumus, vix hercule auderem, si mihi mea sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum, ut nostris temporibus, hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes iuvenis admodum audivi. Ita non ingenio, sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut quae a praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter accepi, cum singuli diversas quidem sed probabiles causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et

P. CORNELIUS TACITUS

A DIALOGUE ON ORATORY

Dear Justus Fabius,—There is a question that you often put to me. How is it that, whereas former ages were so prolific of great orators, men of genius and renown, on our generation a signal blight has fallen: it lacks distinction in eloquence, and scarce retains so much as the name of 'orator,' which we apply exclusively to the men of olden time, calling good speakers of the present day 'pleaders,' 'advocates,' 'counsel,'—anything rather than 'orators.' To attempt an answer to your conundrum is to take up a difficult investigation, involving this grave dilemma: either it is want of ability that keeps us from rising to the same high standard, in which case we must think meanly of our powers, or it is want of will, and in that event we shall have to condemn our taste. Such an attempt I should really scarce presume to make, if it were my own views that I had to put forward, instead of reproducing a conversation between certain persons,—very good speakers, according to our present-day standards,—whom I listened to when quite a youth as they held high debate over this very issue. So it is not intellectual ability that I require, but only power of memory, in order now to recount the sagacious thoughts and the weighty utterances which I heard

animi et ingenii redderent, isdem nunc numeris isdemque rationibus persequar, servato ordine disputationis. Neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet, ac multum vexata et inrisa vetustate nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret.

2 Nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur, venerunt ad eum Marcus Aperet Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri, quos ego utrosque non modo in iudiciis studiose audiebam, sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabar mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili, ut fabulas quoque eorum et disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis penitus exciperem, quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. Nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius

from the lips of those eminent men, reproducing the same divisions and the same arguments. The explanations which they severally offered, though discrepant, had each something to recommend it, and in putting them forward the speaker reflected in every case his individual way of thinking and feeling. I shall adhere moreover to the order in which they actually spoke. For the opposite point of view also found a champion in one who, roundly abusing the old order of things, and holding it up to ridicule, exalted the eloquence of our own times above the genius of the past.

It was the day following that on which Curiatius Maternus had given a reading of his 'Cato,' when court circles were said to have taken umbrage at the way in which he had thrown himself in the play heart and soul into the rôle of Cato, with never a thought of himself. The thing was the talk of the town, and Maternus had a call from Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, then the leading lights of the bar at Rome. Of both of them I can say that,—being passionately fond of rhetorical studies, and fired with youthful enthusiasm,—I made a practice not only of listening attentively to their pleadings in court, but also of attaching myself to them at their homes and attending them out of doors. I wanted to drink in their casual talk as well, and their discussions, and the confidences of their esoteric discourse, notwithstanding the many spiteful critics who held that Secundus was not a ready speaker, and that Aper's title to oratorical renown was based on ability and inborn talent rather than on any literary training. The fact is that Secundus was the master of a style that was idiomatic and precise and fluent enough for his purpose, while Aper was a man of all-round

litteras quam nesciebat, tamquam maiorem industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3 Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus habentem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus "Nihilne te" inquit, "Materne, fabulae malignorum terrent quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? An ideo librum istum adprehendisti ut diligentius retractares et, sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem meliorem, sed tamen securiorem?"

Tum ille: "Leges tu quid [1] Maternus sibi debuerit, et adgnosces quae audisti. Quod si qua omisit Cato, sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui iam et intra me ipse formavi. Atque ideo maturare libri huius editionem festino, ut dimissa priore cura novae cogitationi toto pectore incumbam."

"Adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant," inquit Aper, "quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas? cum te tot amicorum

[1] See note 1, p. 131.

learning, who as regards literature was not so much ignorant as disdainful, believing that his industry and application would redound more to his credit if it were thought that his natural talents did not need the prop of any extraneous accomplishments.

Well, on entering Maternus's room we found him sitting with a book in front of him—the very same from which he had given his reading on the previous day; whereupon Secundus said, "Has the talk of your detractors no terrors for you, Maternus? Does it not make you feel less enamoured of that exasperating Cato of yours? Or is it with the idea of going carefully over it that you have taken your drama in hand, intending to cut out any passages that may have given a handle for misrepresentation, and then to publish a new edition of 'Cato,' if not better than the first at least not so dangerous?"

To this he rejoined, "The reading of it will show you what Maternus considered his duty to himself: you will find it just as you heard it read. Yes, and if 'Cato' has left anything unsaid, at my next reading it shall be supplied in my 'Thyestes'; for so I call the tragedy which I have planned and of which I have the outline in my head. It is just because I want to get the first play off my hands and to throw myself whole-heartedly into my new theme that I am hurrying to get this work ready for publication."

"So then," said Aper, "you have not had enough of those tragedies of yours? Otherwise you would not turn your back on your profession of speaker and pleader, and spend your whole time on plays. The other day it was 'Medea,' and now it is 'Thyestes'; and all the while you are being clamoured for in the

causae, tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent, quibus vix suffeceris, etiam si non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses, Domitium et Catonem, id est nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina, Graeculorum fabulis adgregare [1]."

4 Et Maternus: "Perturbarer hac tua severitate, nisi frequens et adsidua nobis contentio iam prope in consuetudinem vertisset. Nam nec tu agitare et insequi poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advocationum obicis, cotidianum hoc patrocinium defendendae adversus te poeticae exerceo. Quo laetor magis oblatum nobis iudicem qui me vel in futurum vetet versus facere, vel, quod iam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate compellat ut omissis forensium causarum angustiis, in quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam."

5 "Ego vero," inquit Secundus, "antequam me iudicem Aper recuset, faciam quod probi et moderati iudices solent, ut in iis cognitionibus excusent [2] in quibus manifestum est alteram apud eos partem gratia praevalere. Quis enim nescit neminem mihi coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et adsiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum

[1] See note 2, p. 131.
[2] See note 3, p. 131.

forum by the long list of your friends' cases, and the equally long list of colonies and country-towns for which you ought to act. Why, you could hardly meet all those calls even if you had not so gratuitously shouldered this new occupation of tacking on to Greekling legends a Domitius and a Cato, that is to say, stories also from our own annals, with Roman names."

"I should be greatly put out by your harsh words," said Maternus, "had not frequent and constant disputation become for us by now almost a second nature. You on your part are never done assailing the poets with your invective, and I, whom you charge with neglect of professional duty, am daily retained to defend the art of poetry against you. This makes me all the more glad that we have here an arbitrator who will either forbid me to write verse in future, or will throw his influence into the scale to make me realise perforce a long-cherished dream, and forsaking the narrow sphere of pleading at the bar, which has taken too much out of me already, cultivate the gift of utterance in its higher and holier form."

"As for me," said Secundus, "before Aper declines to have me as an umpire, I shall follow the usual practice of upright and conscientious judges, who ask to be excused from acting in cases where it is obvious that one of the two parties stands higher in their good graces than the other. Everybody knows that no one is closer to me than Saleius Bassus,[1] an old friend with whom I have enjoyed continuous personal association. Not only is Bassus the best of men but he is also a really ideal poet; so if poetry is

[1] For Saleius Bassus and others mentioned in the text see Index of Proper Names.

virum tum absolutissimum poetam? Porro si poetica accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem."

"Securus sit" inquit Aper "et Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. Et ego enim,[1] quatenus arbitrum litis huius invenimus[2], non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum apud hos[3] arguam quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam, qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, asciscere necessitudines, complecti provincias possit, omittit studium quo non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius *vel ad voluptatem iucundius*[4] vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam inlustrius excogitari potest.

Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra dirigenda sunt, quid est tutius[5] quam eam exercere artem qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? Cuius vis et utilitas rebus

[1] See note 4, p. 131.
[2] See note 5, p. 131.
[3] See note 6, p. 132.
[4] See note 7, p. 132.
[5] See note 8, p. 132.

to be put on her defence, I do not know where you will find a more representative respondent."

"Saleius Bassus may keep his mind at rest," Aper rejoined, "and so may every one who, not being competent for the bar, sets his heart on the pursuit of poetry and on making himself famous by his verse. That the plea of being only one among many should be put forward in defence of Maternus is something that—now that we have found an arbitrator in this suit—I too on my side am not going to allow. No, I shall make him sole defendant, to answer before this court to the charge that, though a born orator and a master of the sturdy kind of eloquence which would enable him to make friendships and preserve them, to form extended connections, and to take whole provinces under his wing, he turns his back on a profession than which you cannot imagine any in the whole country more productive of practical benefits, or that carries with it a sweeter sense of satisfaction, or that does more to enhance a man's personal standing, or that brings more honour and renown here in Rome, or that secures a more brilliant reputation throughout the Empire and in the world at large.

"If practical advantage is to be the rule of all we think and all we do, can there be any safer line to take than the practice of an art which gives you an ever ready weapon with which to protect your friends, to succour those to whom you are a stranger, to bring deliverance to persons in jeopardy, and even to strike fear and terror into the hearts of malignant foes,—while you yourself have no anxiety, entrenched as you are behind a rampart of inalienable authority and power? While things are going well with you, it is in the refuge it affords to others, and in the

prospere fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intellegitur : sin proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule lorica et gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitanti eloquentia, praesidium simul ac telum, quo propugnare pariter et incessere sive in iudicio sive in senatu sive apud principem possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam opposuit, qui accinctus[1] et minax disertam quidem sed inexercitatam et eius modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit ? Plura de utilitate non dico, cui parti minime contra dicturum Maternum meum arbitror.

6 Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cuius iucunditas non uno aliquo momento, sed omnibus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates honestas nato quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum, idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicuius administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari ? ipsos quin immo orbos et locupletes et potentes venire plerumque ad iuvenem et pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum discrimina commendent. Vllane tanta ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae voluptas quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius orbis

[1] See note 9, p. 133.

protection it gives them, that its efficacy and usefulness are most in evidence; but when danger hurtles round your own head, then surely no sword or buckler in the press of arms gives stouter support than does eloquence to him who is imperilled by a prosecution; for it is a sure defence and a weapon of attack withal, that enables you with equal ease to act on the defensive or to advance to the assault, whether in the law courts, or in the senate house, or in the Emperor's cabinet council. What was it save his eloquence that enabled Eprius Marcellus a short while ago to confront the senate, with every one against him? Ready for the fray and breathing defiance, he could parry the blows of the philosopher Helvidius, who for all his clever speaking was, as regards that sort of contest, an inexperienced novice. I need say no more under the head of practical advantage, for here my friend Maternus is not at all likely, I take it, to join issue with me.

"I pass to the satisfaction which eloquence affords. It is not for a single instant only that its delights are ours, but almost every day of the week, nay almost every hour of the day. What greater gratification can there be for a free-born gentleman, fashioned by nature for lofty pleasures, than to see his house filled to the door every day with a company of persons of the highest rank, and to know that he owes this compliment not to his wealth, not to his childless condition, not to the fact that he holds some office or other, but to himself? Why, people who have no one to leave their money to, and the rich and the great, are always coming to the barrister, young and poor though he may be, to get him to take up their own cases or those of their friends. Can vast wealth or great power bring with it any satisfaction comparable to the sight of grave

gratia subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes id quod optimum sit se non habere? Iam vero qui togatorum comitatus et egressus! quae in publico species! quae in iudiciis veneratio! quod illud gaudium consurgendi adsistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos! coire populum et circumfundi coram et accipere adfectum, quemcumque orator induerit! Vulgata dicentium gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo: illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota maiora sunt. Sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive novam et recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua iucunditas est; nam *in* ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quamquam *grata quae* diu serantur atque elaborentur,[1] gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur.

7 Equidem, ut de me ipso fatear, non eum diem laetiorem egi quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est, vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi,

[1] See note 10, p. 133.

and reverend seniors, men with the whole world at their feet, freely owning that, though in circumstances of the utmost affluence, they lack the greatest gift of all? Just look, again, at the imposing retinue of clients that follows you when you leave your house! What a brave show you make out of doors! What an amount of deference is paid to you in the law courts! What a supreme delight it is to gather yourself to your feet, and to take your stand before a hushed audience, that has eyes only for you! And the growing crowd streams round about the speaker, and takes on any mood in which he may care to wrap himself, as with a cloak. It is the notorious delights of speech-making that I am enumerating,—those that are full in view even of the uninitiated; but there is far more in those that are not so obvious, and that are known only to the orator himself. If he comes out with an elaborate oration which has been carefully rehearsed, his feeling of satisfaction, like the discourse itself, has about it something solid and abiding; if again he happens to produce—not without a feeling of nervousness—some new composition, just off the stocks, his very anxiety deepens the impression produced and enhances the joy of success. But quite the most exquisite delight comes from speaking extempore, in bold fashion and even with a touch of daring; for the domain of intellect is like a piece of ground under tillage,—though you find pleasure in what takes a long time to sow and cultivate, yet the growth that comes by nature is more pleasing still.

"Let me make this avowal about my own case. The day on which I was invested with the robe of a senator, or that on which I was elected quaestor, or tribune, or praetor, though a man of new birth and a native

quam eos quibus mihi pro mediocritate huius quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis aut reum prospere defendere, aut apud centumviros[1] causam aliquam feliciter orare, aut apud principem ipsos illos libertos et procuratores principum tueri et defendere datur. Tum mihi supra tribunatus et praeturas et consulatus ascendere videor, tum habere quod, si non *ultro* oritur,[2] nec codicillis datur nec cum gratia venit. Quid? fama et laus cuius artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est? Quinam inlustriores[3] sunt in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et rebus intentos, sed etiam apud iuvenes vacuos[4] et adulescentes, quibus modo et recta indoles est et bona spes sui? Quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt? Quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et digito demonstrat? Advenae quoque et peregrini iam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut adgnoscere concupiscunt.

8 Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium, de quo

[1] See note 11, p. 133.
[2] See note 12, p. 133.
[3] See note 13, p. 134.
[4] See note 14, p. 134.

of a community which is not at all popular at Rome,—such days have been in no greater degree red-letter days for me than those on which I enjoy the opportunity, to the modest extent of my poor ability as a speaker, of securing an acquittal in a criminal trial, or of pleading some case successfully before the centumviral court,[1] or of undertaking the defence of some redoubtable freedman or imperial agent in the Emperor's presence-chamber. Then it is that I feel I am rising above the level of a tribune, a praetor, or even a consul, and that I possess an asset which, unless it comes unbidden, cannot either be conferred by letters-patent or follow in the train of popular favour.

"Why, where is there a profession whose name and fame are to be compared with renown in oratory? What class of men enjoys greater prestige here in Rome than our public speakers, in the eyes not only of busy men, engrossed in affairs, but also of younger persons, who have leisure, and of those too who have not yet come to man's estate,—provided always that they are of good natural disposition and have some outlook? Are there any whose names are dinned at an earlier age by parents into their children's ears? Are there any to whom the plain man in the street, our citizens in their working-clothes, more frequently point as they pass by, saying, 'There goes So-and-so'? Visitors also and non-residents, as soon as they set foot in the capital, ask for the men of whom in their country-towns and colonies they have already heard so much, and are all agog to make them out.

"I would make bold to affirm that our friend Eprius Marcellus, of whom I have just been speaking, and

[1] See note 11, p. 133.

modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius enim novis et recentibus quam remotis et oblitteratis exemplis utor) non minus *notos*[1] esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur. Nec hoc illis alterius *bis, alterius* ter milies sestertium praestat, quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri eloquentiae beneficio venisse, *sed* ipsa eloquentia; cuius numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homines ingenii viribus pervenerint, sed haec, ut supra dixi, proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda, sed oculis spectanda haberemus. Nam quo sordidius et abiectius nati sunt quoque notabilior paupertas et angustiae rerum nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo clariora et ad demonstrandam oratoriae eloquentiae utilitatem inlustriora exempla sunt, quod sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac, donec libuit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta, atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia

See note 15, p. 134.

Vibius Crispus (I prefer to cite instances that are fresh and of recent date rather than those which are so far back as to be half-forgotten), are just as well known in the uttermost parts of the earth as they are at Capua or Vercellae, which are mentioned as the places of their birth. And it is not their great wealth that they have to thank for this,—200 millions of sesterces[1] in the one case and 300[2] in the other,—though it would be possible to hold that it is to their eloquence that they owe that wealth: no, what makes them famous is simply their eloquence. In all ages the divine influence and supernatural power of eloquence have given us many illustrations of the high position to which men have climbed by sheer intellectual capacity; but these are cases which, as I have said already, come home to us, and it has been vouchsafed us to see them with our own eyes instead of learning of them by hearsay. The meaner and the more humble was the origin of those two men, and the more notorious the poverty and want that hemmed in their young lives, so the more brightly do they shine as conspicuous examples of the practical advantage of oratorical power. Though they had none of the recommendations of birth or the resources of wealth, though neither of the two was of pre-eminently high moral character, while one of them had an exterior that made him even an object of derision, yet after being now for many years the most powerful men in Rome, and—so long as they cared for such success—leaders of the bar, they take to-day the leading place in the Emperor's circle of friends, and get their own way in everything. And by Vespasian himself they are regarded with an affection that is not unmixed with deference; for

[1] About £1,700,000. [2] About £2,550,000.

diliguntur; quia Vespasianus, venerabilis senex et patientissimus veri, bene intellegit ceteros quidem amicos suos iis niti quae ab ipso acceperint quaeque ipsi [1] accumulare et in alios congerere promptum sit, Marcellum autem et Crispum attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit. Minimum inter tot ac tanta locum obtinent imagines ac tituli et statuae, quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur, tam hercule quam divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat.

His igitur et honoribus et ornamentis et facultatibus refertas domos eorum videmus qui se ab ineunte adulescentia causis forensibus et oratorio studio dederunt.

9 Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utilitates alunt; voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem et infructuosam consequuntur. Licet haec ipsa et quae deinceps dicturus sum aures tuae, Materne, respuant, cui bono est si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur? Quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? Quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit

[1] See note 16, p. 134.

our aged and venerable Emperor, who never shuts his eyes to facts, is well aware that while all the rest of his favourites owe their position to the advantages they have received from him,—advantages which he finds it quite easy to amass for himself and to lavish on others,—Marcellus and Crispus, on the other hand, have brought to the friendship that unites them to him an element which they never got from an Emperor and which is absolutely incommunicable. Alongside of these many great achievements, medallions and inscriptions [1] and statues are of very little account; and yet even these are not to be lightly regarded, any more than wealth and riches, which you will always find men more ready to denounce than to disdain.

"Such then are the honours and distinctions and resources which we find to repletion in the houses of those who from youth up have dedicated themselves to the practice of law and the profession of oratory.

"As for poetry and verse-making, to which Maternus is eager to devote the whole of his life—for that was the starting-point of this talk—they neither bring their author any higher standing nor do they advance his material interests; and the satisfaction they furnish is as short-lived as their fame is empty and profitless. Very likely you will not relish what I am saying, Maternus, or what I intend to state in the course of my argument; but I ask all the same, When an Agamemnon or a Jason talks well in one of your plays, who profits by that? Does any one gain a verdict by it, and feel beholden to you accordingly, as he goes home? Take our friend Saleius, a first-rate poet, or—if that is a more complimentary designation—a most illus-

[1] See note 17, p. 134.

aut salutat aut prosequitur? Nempe si amicus eius, si propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es, neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi enim Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi, quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut cum toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit, rogare ultro et ambire cogatur ut sint qui dignentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit. Et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequatur, omnis illa laus intra unum aut alterum diem, velut in herba vel flore praecerpta[1], ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem, nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium, sed clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucre. Laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. Pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri: quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum genium[2] propitiare, suam experiri liberalitatem! Adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare

[1] See note 18, p. 134. [2] See note 19, p. 134.

trious bard: does any one escort him to his house, or wait on him to pay his respects, or follow in his train? Why surely, if any of his friends or relatives gets into trouble, or even himself, he will hie him to you, Secundus, or to you, Maternus,—not because you are a poet, or with any idea of getting you to write verses in his defence: Bassus has his own home supply of these, and pretty, charming verses they are, though the upshot of them all is that, when he has concocted after long lucubration a single volume in a whole year, working every day and most nights as well, he finds himself obliged to run round into the bargain and beg people to be kind enough to come and form an audience. That too costs him something, for he has to get the loan of a house, to fit up a recitation-hall, to hire chairs, and to distribute programmes. And even supposing his reading is a superlative success, in a day or two all the glory of it passes away, like a plant culled too soon in the blade or the bud, without reaching any real solid fruitage: what he gets out of it is never a friend, never a client, never any lasting gratitude for a service rendered, but only fitful applause, empty compliments, and a satisfaction that is fleeting. We were full of praise the other day for Vespasian's striking and extraordinary generosity in presenting Bassus with five hundred thousand sesterces.[1] And to win for oneself by one's ability the favour of an Emperor is, no doubt, a fine thing; but how much finer is it, if the low state of one's fortune should make it necessary, to pay court to oneself instead, to be one's own good genius, and to make trial of one's own bounty? And there is more. A poet, when he is minded laboriously to produce

[1] About £4250.

et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.

10 Ne opinio quidem et fama, cui soli serviunt et quod unum esse pretium omnis laboris sui fatentur, aeque poetas quam oratores sequitur, quoniam mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci. Quando enim rarissimarum[1] recitationum fama in totam urbem penetrat, nedum ut per tot provincias innotescat? Quotus quisque, cum ex Hispania vel Asia, ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar, in urbem venit, Saleium Bassum requirit? Atque adeo si quis requirit, ut semel vidit, transit et contentus est, ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset. Neque hunc meum sermonem sic accipi volo tamquam eos quibus natura sua oratorium ingenium denegavit deterream a carminibus, si modo in hac studiorum parte oblectare otium et nomen inserere possunt famae. Ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque iucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem *et* epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque

[1] See note 20, p. 135.

some creditable composition, has to turn his back on the society of friends and on all the charms of city-life; abandoning every other function, he must retire into the solitude, as poets themselves say, of the woods and the groves.

"Nor is it even the case that a great name and fame, which is the only object they strive for, protesting that it is the one reward of all their toil, falls to the lot of poets as much as of orators: average poets no one knows, and good poets but few. Why, take your public readings, few and far between as they are: when do they get noised abroad throughout the capital, to say nothing of coming to be known in the various provinces? How very seldom it is that, when a stranger arrives in Rome from Spain or Asia Minor, not to mention my own native land of Gaul, he makes inquiry after Saleius Bassus! And if anyone does happen to ask for him, when once he has clapped eyes on the poet, he passes on his way, quite satisfied,—just as if it had been a picture or a statue that he had seen. Now I do not want you to take what I am saying as though I am trying to frighten away from verse composition those who are constitutionally devoid of oratorical talent, if they really can find agreeable entertainment for their spare time in this branch of literature, and gain for themselves a niche in the temple of fame. My belief is that there is something sacred and august about every form and every department of literary expression: I am of the opinion that it is not only your tragic buskin or the sonorous epic that we ought to exalt above the pursuit of non-literary accomplishments, but the charm of lyric poetry as well, and the wanton elegy, the biting iambic, the playful epigram, and in fact all the other

aliam speciem eloquentia habeat anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis [1] credo. Sed tecum mihi, Materne, res est, quod, cum natura tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat[2], errare mavis et summa adepturus in levioribus subsistis. Vt si in Graecia natus esses, ubi ludicras quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur ac vires dedissent, non paterer inmanes illos et ad pugnam natos lacertos levitate iaculi aut iactu disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in forum et ad causas et ad vera proelia voco, cum praesertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium. Effervescit enim vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo, sed, quod periculosius est, pro Catone offendis. Nec excusatur offensa necessitudine officii aut fide advocationis aut fortuitae et subitae dictionis impetu: meditatus videris *hanc*[3] elegisse personam notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam. Sentio quid responderi possit: hinc ingentes existere adsensus, haec in ipsis auditoriis praecipue laudari et mox omnium sermo-

[1] See note 21, p. 135.
[2] See note 22, p. 135.
[3] See note 23, p. 135.

forms in which literature finds utterance. My quarrel is with you, Maternus, and it is this: though your natural gifts point upwards to the true pinnacle of eloquence, you prefer to wander in bypaths, and when you could easily reach the top you loiter over comparatively trivial pursuits. If you had been a Greek, a native of a country where it is quite respectable to practise the arts that serve only for pastime, and if heaven had given you the great bodily strength of a Nicostratus, I should protest against allowing your brawny arms, framed for combats in the arena, to be thrown away on the tame sport of hurling the javelin or the discus; and in the same way now I am trying to get you away from the lecture-hall and the stage to the forum and to the real contests of actions-at-law. And all the more since you cannot shelter yourself behind the plea which helps out so many, namely, that people are less likely to take umbrage at the professional activity of the poet than at that of the public speaker. Why, your generous temperament is up in a blaze at once, and it is not in defence of a friend that you make yourself objectionable, but, what is more dangerous, in defence of Cato. And the offence you give cannot be held excused by the obligation to render a friendly service, or by loyalty to a client, or by the excitement of an unpremeditated utterance, made off-hand; no, it looks as if of set purpose you had selected that characteristic personality, whose words would have great weight. I know what can be said on the other side. it is this that excites unbounded applause, it is this that in the recitation-room promptly secures great commendation and afterwards becomes the theme of universal

nibus ferri. Tolle igitur quietis et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi sumas adversarium superiorem. Nobis satis sit privatas et nostri saeculi controversias tueri, in quibus si quando [1] necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata."

11 Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus "Parantem" inquit "me non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitrabar ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis qui causas agere non possent ut versus facerent. Ego autem sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam auspicatus sum, cum quidem *principe* Nerone [2] improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii potentiam fregi, *et* hodie si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est, magis arbitror carminum quam orationum gloria partum. Ac iam me deiungere a forensi labore constitui, nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam salutantium concupisco, non magis quam aera et imagines, quae etiam me nolente in domum meam inruperunt.

[1] See note 24, p. 135.
[2] See note 25, p. 136.

remark. Away then with the plea that what you want is peace and quietness, seeing that you deliberately choose an adversary who is so much above you. For us orators let it suffice to play our parts in private and present-day controversies, and if in these it is at times incumbent, in defence of a friend who is in jeopardy, to say what is displeasing to the powers that be, may we win commendation for our loyalty and indulgence for our outspokenness."

Aper's words were, as usual with him, somewhat vehement in their tone, and his face was hard set. When he had finished, Maternus replied blandly, and with a quiet smile: "I was getting ready to make my impeachment of the orators as thoroughgoing as Aper's eulogy had been; for my expectation was that he would turn from that eulogy to disparage poets and lay the pursuit of poesy in the dust. But he quite cleverly disarmed me by yielding the point that verse composition may be indulged in by anyone who would not make a good lawyer. Now while I might possibly accomplish something, though not without effort, as a barrister, yet on the other hand it was by dramatic readings that I took the first step on the path of fame, when in Nero's reign I broke the power of Vatinius, that unconscionable usurper who was desecrating even the sanctity of letters; and any reputation or renown I may possess to-day is due, I fancy, to the fame of my poetry rather than to my speeches. And now I have determined to throw off the yoke of my practice at the bar. The retinue that attends you when you go out of doors, and the crowd of morning callers have no charms for me, any more than the bronze medallions which even against my will have forced their way into my house.

Nam statum hucusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tueor[1] quam eloquentia, nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint.

12 Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem quod non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris. Haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit; sic oracula loquebantur. Nam lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae usus recens et malis moribus natus, atque, ut tu dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus. Ceterum felix illud et, ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum, et oratorum et criminum inops, poetis et vatibus abundabat, qui bene facta canerent, non qui male admissa defenderent. Nec ullis aut gloria maior *erat* aut augustior honor, primum apud deos, quorum proferre responsa et interesse epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos dis genitos

[1] See note 26, p. 136.

So far as I have gone I find in uprightness a readier protection than in eloquence for my personal standing and my peace of mind; and I am not afraid of ever having to address the senate except in the interests of some one else who is in jeopardy.

"As for the woods and the groves and the idea of a quiet life, which came in for such abuse from Aper, so great is the joy they bring me that I count it among the chief advantages of poetry that it is not written amid the bustle of the city, with clients sitting in wait for you at your own front door, or in association with accused persons, shabbily clothed and weeping for all they are worth: no, the poetic soul withdraws into the habitations of purity and innocence, and in these hallowed dwellings finds its delight. Here is the cradle of eloquence, here its holy of holies; this was the form and fashion in which the faculty of utterance first won its way with mortal men, streaming into hearts that were as yet pure and free from any stain of guilt; poetry was the language of the oracles. The gain-getting rhetoric now in vogue, greedy for human blood, is a modern invention, the product of a depraved condition of society. As you said yourself, Aper, it has been devised for use as a weapon of offence. The age of bliss, on the other hand, the golden age, as we poets call it, knew nothing of either accusers or accusations; but it had a rich crop of poets and bards, who instead of defending the evil-doer chanted the praises of those that did well. And to none was greater fame or more exalted rank accorded than to them, first in high heaven itself; for they were the prophets, it was said, of the oracles of the gods, and were present as guests at their banquets; and thereafter at the courts of god-

sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicum, sed Orphea et Linum ac, si introspicere altius velis, ipsum Apollinem accepimus. Vel si haec fabulosa nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedes, Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis famam Euripidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiae aut Hyperidis includi. Plures hodie reperies qui Ciceronis gloriam quam qui Vergilii detrectent, nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam inlustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

13 Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix contubernium comparare timuerim cum inquieta et anxia oratorum vita. Licet illos certamina et pericula sua ad consulatus evexerint, malo securum et quietum Vergilii secessum, in quo tamen neque apud divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum notitia. Testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum. Ne nostris quidem temporibus Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae vel perpetuitate famae cesserit. Nam Crispus iste et Marcellus, ad quorum exempla me vocas, quid habent in hac sua fortuna concupiscendum? quod timent, an quod timentur?

born holy kings, in whose company we never hear of a pleader, but of an Orpheus, a Linus, and, if you care to go further back, Apollo himself. If you think there is too much legend and fiction about all this, you surely will admit, Aper, that Homer has been revered by after ages just as much as Demosthenes, and that the fame of Euripides or Sophocles is not confined to narrower limits than that of Lysias or Hyperides. And to-day you will find a larger number of critics ready to disparage Cicero's reputation than Virgil's; while there is no published oration of Asinius or Messalla so celebrated as the 'Medea' of Ovid or the 'Thyestes' of Varius.

"Nor should I hesitate to contrast the poet's lot in life and his delightful literary companionships with the unrest and anxiety that mark the orator's career. What though in his case a consulship be the crown of all the contests and lawsuits he so dearly loves: for my part I would rather have the seclusion in which Virgil lived, tranquil and serene, without forfeiting either the favour of the sainted Augustus, or popularity with the citizens of Rome. This is vouched for by the letters of Augustus, and by the behaviour of the citizens themselves; for on hearing a quotation from Virgil in the course of a theatrical performance, they rose to their feet as one man, and did homage to the poet, who happened to be present at the play, just as they would have done to the Emperor himself. And in our own day too Pomponius Secundus ranks just as high as Domitius Afer, alike in personal standing and in enduring reputation. As for your Crispus and your Marcellus, whom you hold up to me as patterns for imitation, what is there about their boasted condition that we ought to covet? Is it the fear they feel, or the fear they inspire in others?

quod, cum cotidie aliquid rogentur, ii quibus praestant *nihil*[1] indignantur? quod adligati *omni*[2] adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi? Quae haec summa eorum potentia est? tantum posse liberti solent. Me vero dulces, ut Vergilius ait, Musae, remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi, in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant; nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem[3] trepidus experiar. Non me fremitus salutantium nec anhelans libertus excitet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere;

quandoque enim fatalis et meus dies
veniet:[4]

statuarque tumulo non maestus et atrox, sed hilaris et coronatus, et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget."

14 Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instinctus, cum Vipstanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem inter eos esse sermonem, "Num parum

[1] See note 27, p. 136.
[2] See note 28, p. 137.
[3] See note 29, p. 137.
[4] See note 31, p. 137.

Is it the fact that, besieged as they are from day to day by all sorts of petitions, they set the backs up of those whom they are unable to oblige? Or that, being constrained to curry favour in every direction, they can never show themselves either sufficiently servile to the powers that be, or sufficiently independent to us? And what does this great power of theirs amount to? Why, the Emperor's freedmen often possess as much. As for myself, may the 'sweet Muses,' as Virgil says, bear me away to their holy places where sacred streams do flow, beyond the reach of anxiety and care, and free from the obligation of performing each day some task that goes against the grain. May I no longer have anything to do with the mad racket and the hazards of the forum, or tremble as I try a fall with white-faced Fame. I do not want to be roused from sleep by the clatter of morning callers or by some breathless messenger from the palace; I do not care, in drawing my will, to give a money-pledge for its safe execution through anxiety as to what is to happen afterwards;[1] I wish for no larger estate than I can leave to the heir of my own free choice. Some day or other the last hour will strike also for me, and my prayer is that my effigy may be set up beside my grave, not grim and scowling, but all smiles and garlands, and that no one shall seek to honour my memory either by a motion in the senate or by a petition to the Emperor."

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Scarce had Maternus finished, speaking with animation and in a sort of ecstasy, when Vipstanus Messalla entered the room; and divining from the look of fixed attention on each and every face that the subject of their conversation was one of special importance,

[1] See note 30, p. 137.

tempestivus" inquit "interveni secretum consilium et causae alicuius meditationem tractantibus?"

"Minime, minime" inquit Secundus, "atque adeo vellem maturius intervenisses; delectasset enim te et Apri nostri accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum ut omne ingenium ac studium suum ad causas agendas converteret exhortatus est, et Materni pro carminibus suis laeta, utque poetas defendi decebat, audentior et poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio."

"Me vero" inquit "et sermo iste infinita voluptate adfecisset, atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et temporum nostrorum oratores, non forensibus tantum negotiis et declamatorio studio ingenia vestra exercetis, sed eius modi etiam disputationes adsumitis, quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac litterarum iucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis qui ista disputatis adferunt, tum etiam iis ad quorum aures pervenerint. Itaque hercle non minus probari video in te, Secunde, quod Iuli Africani vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium eius modi librorum, quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasticis controversiis recessit et otium suum mavult novorum rhetorum more quam veterum oratorum consumere."

15 Tum Aper: "Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia inridere atque contemnere. Nam hunc tuum ser-

he said: "Have I come in at the wrong moment, disturbing a private consultation, in which you are busy with the preparation of some case or other?"

"Not at all," exclaimed Secundus, "not at all: on the contrary, I wish you had come in sooner. You would have been delighted with our friend Aper's carefully elaborated discourse, which was an appeal to Maternus to devote all his talent and energy to pleading at the bar, and also with Maternus's enthusiastic vindication of his verses in a speech which, quite appropriately for one who was championing the poets, was somewhat daring and more in the style of poetry than of oratory."

"Why, surely," he rejoined, "I should have enjoyed the talk immensely; but what delights me is the very fact that distinguished persons like yourselves, the foremost speakers of the present day, do not confine your intellectual exercises to legal issues and the practice of declamation, but undertake in addition discussions of this sort, which strengthen the intellect and furnish at the same time, both to yourselves who take part in the debate and also to those to whose ears it comes, the most delightful entertainment that literary culture affords. As the author of a biography of Julius Africanus, you, Secundus, have made the public hope for many more volumes of the kind, and I find that for this people are just as well pleased with you as they are with Aper for not having yet withdrawn from the rhetorical exercises of the schools, and for choosing to spend all his leisure after the fashion of the new rhetoricians rather than of the orators of former days."

"My dear Messalla," Aper rejoined, "you are never done admiring what is old and out of date, and that alone, while you keep pouring ridicule and scorn

monem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes *parem*[1] antiquis, eo, credo, audacius quod malignitatis opinionem non verebaris, cum eam gloriam quam tibi alii concedunt ipse tibi denegares."

"Neque illius" inquit "sermonis mei paenitentiam ago, neque aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo. Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum ut causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat, quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiro. Et quod quibusdam solacio est mihi auget quaestionem, quia video etiam Graiis accidisse ut longius absit *ab* Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos iste Nicetes, et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenas concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit, quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessistis."

16 "Magnam" inquit Secundus "et dignam tractatu, quaestionem movisti. Sed quis eam iustius explicabit

[1] See note 33, p. 138.

on the culture of the present day. I have often heard you speak as you are speaking now,—maintaining, with never a thought of how eloquent you are yourself, or how eloquent your brother [1] is, that we have no orator with us to-day who can hold his own with those of former times; and all the more daringly, I feel sure, because you did not need to be afraid of any imputation of petty jealousy, seeing that you were denying to yourself the reputation that others say is justly yours."

"Well," said Messalla, "I make no apologies for the sort of talk you say you have heard from me, and what is more, I don't really believe that Secundus or Maternus has any different opinion, or you either, Aper, though at times you argue in support of the opposite view. I only wish I could induce some one of your number to investigate the reasons for the prodigious contrast that there is, and to report the results of his investigation. I find myself often asking what they can be. And what brings comfort to some is to me only an aggravation of the difficulty, namely, the knowledge that the same thing happened also in Greece. Take your friend Sacerdos Nicetes, for instance, and all the rest that make the walls of Ephesus or Mytilene shake with rounds of applause from their approving pupils: the interval that separates them from Aeschines and Demosthenes is a wider one than that by which Afer or Africanus or you yourselves stand removed from Cicero or Asinius."

"It is an important issue," Secundus said, "that you have mooted, and one well worth discussion. But is there any one who could more properly unfold it than yourself, seeing that to profound scholar-

[1] See note 32, p. 138.

quam tu, ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantissimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit?"

Et Messalla "Aperiam" inquit "cogitationes meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvetis."

"Pro duobus" inquit Maternus "promitto; nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse. Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paulo ante dixisti et ipse satis manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium accingi, nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam."

"Non enim" inquit Aper "inauditum et indefensum saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione damnari: sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem significatione ista determinetis? Ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam veteres et olim natos intellego, ac mihi versantur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor, quorum aetas mille fere et trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecedit; vos autem Demosthenem et Hyperidem profertis, quos satis constat Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut utrique superstites essent. Ex quo adparet non multo plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et Demosthenis aetatem: quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur, si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum immensi

ship and eminent ability you have added much careful study?"

Messalla replied: "If I can first get you to promise that you too will lend me a helping hand with my discourse, I shall be glad to let you know what I think."

"I undertake for two of us," said Maternus; "both Secundus and I will take up the points, whatever they may be, which you do not so much overlook as deliberately leave to us. As to Aper, you said a little while ago that he has the habit of opposition; and moreover it is quite clear that for some time past he has been girding himself for the fray, and that our unanimous eulogy of the ancients is more than he can tamely endure."

"Certainly," Aper rejoined: "you are in collusion, and I will not allow judgment to go by default, and without a hearing, against our own times. But to begin with, I shall ask this question: who is it that you call the 'ancients,' and what period of oratory do you designate by your use of the word? For myself, when I hear people speaking of the 'ancients,' I take it that they are referring to persons remote from us, who lived long ago: I have in my mind's eye heroes like Ulysses and Nestor, whose epoch antedates our own times by about thirteen hundred years. You on the other hand bring forward Demosthenes and Hyperides, whose date is well authenticated. They flourished in the days of Philip and Alexander, and indeed survived both these princes. This makes it plain that between our era and that of Demosthenes there is an interval of not much more than three hundred years: a period which may perhaps seem long if measured by the standard of our feeble frames, but which, if considered in relation to the process of the ages and the endless lapse of time,

huius aevi, perquam breve et in proximo est. Nam si, ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, is est magnus et verus annus quo eadem positio caeli siderumque quae cum maxime est rursum exsistet, isque annus horum quos nos vocamus annorum duodecim milia nongentos quinquaginta quattuor complectitur, incipit Demosthenes vester, quem vos veterem et antiquum fingitis, non solum eodem anno quo nos, sed etiam eodem mense exstitisse.

17 Sed transeo ad Latinos oratores, in quibus non Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum temporum disertis anteponere soletis, sed Ciceronem et Caesarem et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium et Messallam: quos quid antiquis temporibus potius adscribatis quam nostris, non video. Nam ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit, septimo idus *Decembres* occisus est, quo anno divus Augustus in locum Pansae et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. Statue sex et quinquaginta annos, quibus mox divus Augustus rem publicam rexit; adice Tiberii tres et viginti, et prope quadriennium Gai, ac bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos, atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitelli longum et unum annum, ac sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem quo Vespasianus rem publicam fovet: centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur,

is altogether short and but as yesterday. For if, as Cicero tells us in his 'Hortensius,' the Great Year, the True Year, is that in which the constellations in the heavens above us come back again to the same position in which they are at any particular moment, and if the Great Year includes 12,954 of our so-called years, then it follows that your boasted Demosthenes, whom you make out to be an ancient, one of the olden times, must have lived not only in the same year as ourselves, but also in the same month.

"But I pass on to the orators of Rome. Among them it is not Menenius Agrippa, I take it,—who may well be considered an ancient,—that you are in the habit of rating above good speakers of the present day, but Cicero, and Caesar, and Caelius, and Calvus, and Brutus, and Asinius, and Messalla; though in regard to these I fail to see any reason why you should credit them to antiquity rather than to our own era. Just take Cicero: it was, as you know, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa that he was put to death, on the 7th December, as his freedman Tiro has left it on record, in the year in which the sainted Augustus appointed himself along with Quintus Pedius to take the place of Hirtius and Pansa. Count the fifty-six years in which the sainted Augustus thereafter held the helm of state; to these add twenty-three years for Tiberius, nearly four for Caligula, fourteen each for Claudius and Nero, that one long year for Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and now the sixth stage of this auspicious reign in which Vespasian is making the country happy: the addition gives us only a hundred and twenty years from the death of Cicero to the present day, no more than the

unius hominis actas. Nam ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem qui se fateretur ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanniae arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt. Ita si eum, qui armatus C. Caesari restitit, vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum aliquod in urbem pertraxisset, aeque idem et Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et nostris quoque actionibus interesse. Proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes qui se a divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse congiarium narrabant. Ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asinium audiri potuisse, (nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad extremum duravit): ne dividatis saeculum, et antiquos ac veteres vocitetis oratores quos eorundem hominum aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt.

18 Haec ideo praedixi ut, si qua ex horum oratorum fama gloriaque laus temporibus adquiritur, eam docerem in medio sitam et propiorem nobis quam Servio Galbae aut C. Carboni quosque alios merito antiquos vocaverimus; sunt enim horridi et impoliti, et rudes et informes, et quos utinam nulla parte imitatus esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero. Agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo,

life of an individual. Why, I saw with my own eyes an old man in Britain who could make the statement that he had taken a hand in the fight in which, when Caesar was attempting the invasion of that island, his compatriots tried to head him off and repel him from their shores. Now if the person who thus offered armed resistance to Caesar had come all the way to Rome as a slave, or on a visit, or by some other chance, it is quite possible that he might have listened to Caesar himself on the one hand, and to Cicero, and on the other have been present at our own judicial pleadings. You yourselves anyhow at the last public distribution of largess saw quite a number of old men who told us that they had more than once received a gratuity from the sainted Augustus himself. The obvious inference from this is that they might have listened to Corvinus as well as to Asinius, for Corvinus lived to the middle of the reign of Augustus, Asinius almost to the end of it; so that you must not make two epochs out of one, and keep on speaking of 'remote antiquity' in reference to orators whom the same persons could have heard with their own ears and so have connected closely with ourselves.

"The reason why I have said all this by way of introduction is that I wanted to show that we have a common property in any lustre the name and fame of these orators may shed upon the times, and that it is nearer to us than to Servius Galba, or Gaius Carbo, and all the rest who may properly be called 'ancients'; for they are really rough and unfinished, crude and inartistic, and generally with such qualities that one could wish that neither your admired Calvus, nor Caelius, nor Cicero himself had made them his model in anything. I want to take a bolder line

si illud ante praedixero, mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera dicendi. Sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus plenior et uberior, sic Graccho politior et ornatior Crassus, sic utroque distinctior et urbanior et altior Cicero, Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus. Nec quaero quis disertissimus: hoc interim probasse contentus sum, non esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque quos vocatis antiquos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. Num dubitamus inventos qui prae Catone [1] Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens, nec satis pressus sed supra modum exsultans et superfluens et parum Atticus [2] videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et attritum, Brutum autem otiosum atque diiunctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, tamquam 'fractum atque elumbem.' Si me interroges, omnes mihi videntur verum dixisse: sed mox ad singulos veniam, nunc mihi cum universis negotium est.

[1] See note 34, p. 138.

[2] See note 35, p. 138.

now, and to speak more resolutely, first premising however that the forms and types of oratory change with the times. Thus Gaius Gracchus, as compared with old Cato, has greater fullness and wealth of diction, Crassus is more highly finished and more ornate than Gracchus, while Cicero is more luminous, more refined, more impassioned than either the one or the other. Corvinus again is mellower than Cicero, more engaging, and more careful in his choice of words. I am not asking which is the greatest orator: for my present purpose it is enough for me to have made the point that eloquence has more than one fashion of countenance, and that even in those whom you speak of as 'ancients' a variety of types can be discovered. Where change occurs, we are not immediately to conclude that it is a change for the worse: you must blame it on the carping spirit of mankind that whereas what is old is always held in high esteem, anything modern gets the cold shoulder. We do not doubt, do we, that there have been those who admired Appius Caecus more than Cato? Cicero himself, as is well known, had his detractors: they thought him turgid and puffy, wanting in conciseness, inordinately exuberant and redundant,—in short, not Attic enough. You have read, of course, the letters of Calvus and Brutus to Cicero, from which it is easy to gather that, as for Calvus, Cicero thought him bloodless and attenuated, just as he thought Brutus spiritless and disjointed; while Cicero was in his turn criticised by Calvus as flabby and pithless, and by Brutus, to use his own expression, as 'feeble and emasculate.' If you ask me, I think they all spoke the truth; but I shall deal with them individually later on; at present I am considering them as a class.

19 Nam quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut terminum antiquitatis constituere solent, qui usque ad Cassium * * * * *, *equidem Cassium*[1] quem reum faciunt, quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab ista vetere atque directa dicendi via, non infirmitate ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad aliud dicendi genus contendo, sed iudicio et intellectu. Vidit namque, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam. Facile perferebat prior ille populus, ut imperitus et rudis, impeditissimarum orationum spatia, atque id ipsum laudabat si dicendo quis diem eximeret. Iam vero longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationis alte repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus, et quidquid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecipitur, in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus philosophiam videretur atque[2] ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur. Nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita, et ipsorum quoque oratorum paucissimi praecepta rhetorum aut philosophorum placita cogno-

[1] See note 36, p. 138.
[2] See note 37, p. 139.

"The common practice of the eulogists of antiquity is to make this the line of demarcation between the ancients and ourselves. Down to the time of Cassius . . . Now as to Cassius, who is the object of their attack, and who according to them was the first to turn away from the straight old path of eloquence, my argument is that it was not from defective ability or want of literary culture that he went in for another style of rhetoric, but as the result of sound judgment and clear discrimination. He saw that with altered conditions and a variation in the popular taste, as I was saying a little while ago, the form and appearance of oratory had also to undergo a change. The public in those olden days, being untrained and unsophisticated, was quite well pleased with long-winded and involved orations, and would even bless the man who would fill up the day for them with his harangues. Just consider the lengthy exordia, designed to work upon the feelings of the audience, and the narrative portion, starting from the beginning of all things, and the parade of countless heads in the arrangement, and the thousand and one stages of the proof, and all the other precepts that are laid down in the dry-as-dust treatises of Hermagoras and Apollodorus,—all these were held in high esteem; and on the other hand, when there was anyone who was credited with having some slight smattering of philosophy, and who could slip some stock passage into his oration, he was praised to the skies. And no wonder. All that sort of thing was new and unfamiliar, and very few even of the orators themselves had made acquaintance with the rules of the rhetoricians or the tenets of the philosophers. But

verant. At hercule pervulgatis iam omnibus, cum vix in cortina quisquam adsistat quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est, per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat, utique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate, non iure aut legibus cognoscunt, nec accipiunt tempora, sed constituunt, nec exspectandum habent oratorem dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se testantur.

20 Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem, qualia sunt fere principia Corvini? Quis quinque in Verrem libros exspectabit? Quis de exceptione et formula perpetietur illa immensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio aut Aulo Caecina legimus? Praecurrit hoc tempore iudex dicentem et, nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur. Vulgus quoque adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis; nec magis perfert in iudiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem quam si quis in scaena Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit. Iam vero iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum incude positi, qui profectus sui causa

now that everything has become common property, and at a time when there is hardly any casual auditor in the well of the court who, if he has not had a systematic training in the rudiments of the art, cannot show at least a tincture of it, what we need is novel and choice methods of eloquence, by employing which the speaker may avoid boring his hearers, especially when addressing a court which decides issues, not according to the letter of the law, but by virtue of its own inherent authority, not allowing the speaker to take his own time, but telling him how long he may have, and not waiting patiently for him to come to the point, but often going so far as to give him a warning, or call him back from a digression, and protest that it has no time to spare.

"Would anyone to-day put up with a speaker who begins by referring to his own poor health,—the usual sort of introduction with Corvinus? Would anyone sit out the five orations against Verres? Would anyone endure the interminable arguments about pleas and procedure which we get in the speeches delivered in defence of M. Tullius or Aulus Caecina? Nowadays your judge travels faster than counsel, and if he cannot find something to engage his interest and prejudice him in your favour in a good-going proof, or in piquant utterances, or in brilliant and highly wrought pen-pictures, he is against you. The general audience, too, and the casual listeners who flock in and out, have come now to insist on a flowery and ornamental style of speaking; they will no more put up with sober, unadorned old-fashionedness in a court of law than if you were to try to reproduce on the stage the gestures of Roscius or Ambivius Turpio. Yes, and our young men, still at the malleable stage of their education, who hang round our public

oratores sectantur, non solum audire, sed etiam referre domum aliquid inlustre et dignum memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt, sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit, sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu enituit. Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. Horum igitur auribus et iudiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum aetas pulchrior et ornatior exstitit. Neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae quia ad aures iudicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. Quid enim si infirmiora horum temporum templa credas, quia non rudi caemento et informibus tegulis exstruuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur?

21 Equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam antiquorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum tenere. Nec unum de populo,[1] Canutium aut Attium, *memorabo, ne quid loquar* de Furnio et Toranio quique alii *omnes* in eodem valetudinario haec ossa et hanc maciem probant: ipse mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros reliquerit, vix in una et altera oratiuncula satis facit. Nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo iudicio video; quotus enim quisque Calvi in

[1] See note 38, p. 139.

speakers in order to improve themselves, are eager not only to hear but also to take home with them some striking and memorable utterance; they pass it on from mouth to mouth, and often quote it in their home correspondence with country-towns and provinces, whether it be the flash of an epigram embodying some conceit in pointed and terse phraseology, or the glamour of some passage of choice poetical beauty. For the adornment of the poet is demanded nowadays also in the orator, an adornment not disfigured by the mouldiness of Accius or Pacuvius, but fresh from the sacred shrine of a Horace, a Virgil, a Lucan. It is by accommodating itself to the taste and judgment of hearers such as these that the orators of the present day have gained in grace and attractiveness. And the fact that they please the ear does not make our speeches any the less telling in a court of law. Why, one might as well believe that temples are not so strongly built to-day because they are not put together out of coarse uncut stone and ugly-looking bricks, but glitter in marble and are all agleam with gold.

"I make the frank avowal that with some of the 'ancients' I can scarcely keep from laughing, while with others I can scarcely keep awake. And I am not going to name anyone belonging to the rank and file, a Canutius or an Attius, not to mention Furnius and Toranius, and all the others who, being inmates of the same infirmary, have nothing but approval for the familiar skin and bones: Calvus himself, in spite of the fact that he left behind him as many, if I am right, as one-and-twenty volumes, hardly comes up to standard in any one of his addresses, or two at the most. And I do not find that the world at

Asitium aut in Drusum legit? At hercule in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur accusationes quae in Vatinium inscribuntur, ac praecipue secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et sententiis, auribus iudicum adcommodata, ut scias ipsum quoque Calvum intellexisse quid melius esset, nec voluntatem ei quo *minus* sublimius et cultius diceret, sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. Quid? ex Caelianis orationibus nempe eae placent, sive universae sive partes earum, in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum temporum adgnoscimus. Sordes autem *reliquae* verborum[1] et hians compositio et inconditi sensus redolent antiquitatem; nec quemquam adeo antiquarium puto ut Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est. Concedamus sane C. Caesari ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum et occupationes rerum minus in eloquentia effecerit quam divinum eius ingenium postulabat, tam hercule quam Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus,—nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam admiratores eius fatentur: nisi forte quisquam aut Caesaris pro Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis ac teporis libros legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur. Fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. Asinius

[1] See note 39, p. 139.

large dissents from this criticism. How very few there are who read his impeachment of Asitius or Drusus! On the other hand, the orations entitled 'Against Vatinius' are a common text-book with students, especially the second: for it is rich in style as well as in ideas, and well suited to the taste of a law court, so that one may readily see that Calvus himself knew the better part, and that his comparative lack of elevation and elegance was due not so much to want of taste as to want of intellectual force. Take, again, the speeches of Caelius: surely those give satisfaction, either in whole or in part, in which we find the polish and elevation of style that are characteristic of the present day. For the rest, his commonplace phraseology, his slipshod arrangement, and his ill-constructed periods savour of old-fashionedness, and I do not believe that there is anyone so devoted to antiquity as to praise Caelius just because he is old-fashioned. As to Julius Caesar we must no doubt make allowance. It was owing to his vast designs and all-absorbing activities that he accomplished less as an orator than his superhuman genius called for; just as in the case of Brutus we must leave him to his well-loved philosophy, for even his admirers admit that as an orator he did not rise to his reputation. You won't tell me that anybody reads Caesar's oration in defence of Decius the Samnite, or Brutus's in defence of King Deiotarus, or any of the other speeches, all equally slow and equally flat,—unless, indeed, it be some one who is an admirer also of their poetry. For they not only wrote poetry, but what is more they sent copies to the libraries. Their verse is no better than Cicero's, but they have had more luck: it is not so notorious. Asinius too, though he

quoque, quamquam propioribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse. Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam orationibus suis expressit: adeo durus et siccus est. Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat. Nolo Corvinum insequi, quia nec per ipsum stetit quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret; videmus enim quam [1] iudicio eius vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

22 Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat: nec ulla re magis eiusdem aetatis oratores [2] praecurrit quam iudicio. Primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et compositioni artem; locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias invenit, utique in iis orationibus quas senior iam [2] et iuxta finem vitae composuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usuque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. Nam priores eius orationes non carent vitiis anti-

[1] See note 40, p. 139. [2] See note 41, p. 139.

is nearer to our own time, must have pursued his studies, as it seems to me, in the company of people like Menenius and Agrippa: at all events he modelled himself upon Pacuvius and Accius in his speeches as well as in his tragedies: so stiff is he, and so dry. No, it is with eloquence as with the human frame. There can be no beauty of form where the veins are prominent, or where one can count the bones: sound healthful blood must fill out the limbs, and riot over the muscles, concealing the sinews in turn under a ruddy complexion and a graceful exterior. I don't want to make an attack on Corvinus, as it was not his fault that he did not exhibit the luxuriance and the polish of the present day: indeed we know how poorly supported his critical faculty was by imagination or intellectual power.

"I come now to Cicero, who had the same battle to fight with his contemporaries that I have with you. While they admired the ancients, he gave the preference to the eloquence of his own day; and it is in taste more than anything else that he outdistances the orators of his period. Cicero was the first to give its proper finish to oratorical style. He was the first to adopt a method of selection in the use of words, and to cultivate artistic arrangement; further, he tried his hand at flowery passages, and was the author of some pointed sayings, at any rate in the speeches which he wrote when well on in years and towards the close of his career, that is to say, when his powers were well developed, and he had learned by experience and practice the qualities of the best type of oratory. As to his earlier speeches, they are not free from the old-fashioned blemishes. He is tedious in his introduc-

quitatis : lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus ; tarde commovetur, raro incalescit ; pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur. Nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio, firmus sane paries et duraturus, sed non satis expolitus et splendens. Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet ; non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus, ut aspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero procul arceantur ut iam oblitterata et olentia : nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inerti structura in morem annalium componantur ; fugitet foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet.

23 Nolo inridere ‘rotam Fortunae’ et ‘ius verrinum’ et illud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum ‘esse videatur.’ Nam et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola mirantur atque

tions, long-winded in the narrative parts, and wearisome in his digressions. He is slow to rouse himself, and seldom warms to his work; only here and there do you find a sentence that has a rhythmical cadence and a flash-point at the finish. There is nothing you can extract, nothing you can take away with you: it is just as in rough-and-ready construction work, where the walls are strong, in all conscience, and lasting, but lacking in polish and lustre. My own view is that the orator, like a prosperous and well-found householder, ought to live in a house that is not only wind and weather proof, but pleasing also to the eye; he should not only have such furnishings as shall suffice for his essential needs, but also number among his belongings both gold and precious stones, so as to make people want to take him up again and again, and gaze with admiration. Some things there are again that must be carefully avoided, as antiquated and musty. There should be never a word of the rusty, mouldy tinge, never a sentence put together in the lame and listless style of the chroniclers. The orator ought to avoid discreditable and senseless buffoonery, vary his arrangement, and refrain from giving the self-same cadence to all his period-endings.

"I don't want to make fun of Cicero's 'Wheel of Fortune,' and his 'Boar's Sauce,'[1] and the tag *esse videatur*, which he tacks on as a pointless finish for every second sentence throughout his speeches. It has gone against the grain to say what I have said, and there is more that I have left out: though it is precisely these blemishes, and these alone, that are

[1] *ius verrinum* may be either "Boar's sauce" or "Verrine law." The joke occurs in the speeches against Verres, i. 1, § 121.

exprimunt ii qui se antiquos oratores vocant. Neminem nominabo, genus hominum significasse contentus; sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos illi qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Aufidii Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commentarios fastidiunt oderunt, Calvi mirantur. Quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur: adeo maesti et inculti illam ipsam quam iactant sanitatem non firmitate, sed ieiunio consequuntur. Porro ne in corpore quidem valetudinem medici probant quae nimia anxietate contingit; parum est aegrum non esse, fortem et laetum et alacrem volo. Prope abest ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur.

Vos vero, *viri* disertissimi, ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi. Nam et te, Messalla, video laetissima quaeque antiquorum imitantem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde, ita gravitati sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum,

admired and imitated by those who call themselves orators of the good old school. I mention no names, as it is enough for me to indicate a type; but you of course will have in your mind's eye the archaists who prefer Lucilius to Horace, and Lucretius to Virgil, who consider the style of Aufidius Bassus and Servilius Nonianus very inferior as compared with that of Sisenna or Varro, who, while they admire the draft-speeches which Calvus left behind him, have nothing but feelings of disdain and repugnance for those of our own contemporaries. Such persons as these, when they prose along before a judge in the antique style, cannot hold the attention of their audience; the crowd refuses to listen, and even their clients can scarcely put up with them. So dreary are they and so uncouth: and even the sound condition which they make their boast they owe not to any sturdiness, but to banting. Why, in dealing with the human body, doctors have not much to say in praise of the patient who only keeps well by worrying about his health. It is not enough not to be ill; I like a man to be strong and hearty and vigorous. If soundness is all you can commend in him, he is really next door to an invalid.

"Do you, my eloquent friends, continue—as you are so well able to do—to shed lustre on this age of ours by your noble oratory. You, Messalla, on the one hand, model your style, as I know, on all that is richest in the eloquence of former days; while as for you, Maternus and Secundus, you have such a happy combination of deep thinking with beauty and elegance of expression, you show such taste in the selection and arrangement of your subject-matter, such copiousness where necessary, such brevity where possible, such grace of construction, such

ea quotiens causa poscit ubertas, ea quotiens permittit brevitas, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas est, sic exprimitis adfectus, sic libertatem temperatis, ut etiam si nostra iudicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vobis dicturi sint posteri nostri."

24 Quae cum Aper dixisset, "Adgnoscitisne" inquit Maternus "vim et ardorem Apri nostri? Quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! Quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! Quanto non solum ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et arte ab ipsis mutuatus est per quae mox ipsos incesseret! Tuum tamen, Messalla, promissum immutasse non debet; neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus, nec quemquam nostrum, quamquam modo laudati sumus, iis quos insectatus est Aper comparamus. Ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit, sed more vetere et a nostris philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contra dicendi partes. Igitur exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegerit."

25 Tum Messalla: "Sequar praescriptam a te, Materne, formam; neque enim diu contra dicendum est Apro, qui primum, ut opinor, nominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur quos satis

perspicuity of thought, so well do you give expression to deep emotion, so restrained are you in your outspokenness, that even if spite and ill-will interfere with a favourable verdict from us who are your contemporaries, posterity assuredly will do you justice."

"There is no mistaking, is there," said Maternus, when Aper had finished speaking, "our friend's passionate impetuosity? With what a flow of words, with what a rush of eloquence, did he champion the age in which we live! With what readiness and versatility did he make war upon the ancients! What natural ability and inspiration, and more than that, what learning and skill did he display, borrowing from their own armoury the very weapons which he was afterwards to turn against themselves! All the same, Messalla, he must not be allowed to make you break your promise. It is not a defence of antiquity that we need, and in spite of the compliments Aper has just been paying us, there is no one among us whom we would set alongside of those who have been the object of his attack. He does not think there is, any more than we do. No; adopting an old method and one much in vogue with the philosophers of the present day, what he did was to take on himself the rôle of an opponent. Well then, do you set before us, not a eulogy of the ancients (their renown is their best eulogy), but the reasons why we have fallen so far short of their eloquence, and that though chronology has proved to demonstration that from the death of Cicero to the present time is an interval of only one hundred and twenty years."

Thereupon Messalla spoke as follows: "I shall keep to the lines you have laid down, Maternus; Aper's argument does not need any lengthy refutation. He began by raising an objection which hinges,

constat ante centum annos fuisse. Mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est; sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet, dum modo in confesso sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam fuisse. Ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno, † si cominus fatetur [1] plures formas dicendi etiam isdem saeculis, nedum diversis exstitisse. Sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum autem locum Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium *tamen* [2] concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime probatur, sic apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. Nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant. Adstrictior Calvus, numerosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero: omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae *prae se* ferunt, ut si omnium pariter libros in manum sumpseris scias, quamvis in diversis ingeniis, esse quandam iudicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem. Nam quod invicem se obtrectaverunt, et sunt aliqua epistulis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum vitium, sed hominum. Nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum

[1] See note 42, p. 139. [2] See note 43, p. 140.

as it seems to me, on a mere name. Aper thinks it ncorrect to apply the term 'ancients' to persons who are known to have lived only one hundred years ago. Now I am not going to fight about a word; he may call them 'ancients' or 'ancestors,' or anything else he likes, so long as it is admitted that the eloquence of those days stood higher than ours. No more have I any objection to that part of his argument in which he comes to the point, and acknowledges that not only at different but at the same epochs more types of eloquence than one have made their appearance. But just as in Attic oratory the palm is awarded to Demosthenes, while next in order come Aeschines, Hyperides, Lysias, and Lycurgus, and yet this era of eloquence is by universal consent considered as a whole the best; so at Rome it was Cicero who outdistanced the other speakers of his own day, while Calvus and Asinius and Caesar and Caelius and Brutus are rightly classed both above their predecessors and above those who came after them. In the face of this generic agreement it is unimportant that there are special points of difference. Calvus is more concise, Asinius more rhythmical, Caesar more stately, Caelius more pungent, Brutus more dignified, Cicero more impassioned, fuller, and more forceful; yet they all exhibit the same healthfulness of style, to such an extent that if you take up all their speeches at the same time you will find that, in spite of diversity of talent, there is a certain family likeness in taste and aspiration. As to their mutual recriminations,—and there do occur in their correspondence some passages that reveal the bad blood there was between them,—that is to be charged against them not as orators, but as human beings. With Calvus and Asinius—yes, and

Ciceronem credo solitos et invidere et livere et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitiis adfici: solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue iudicium animi sui detexisse. An ille Ciceroni invideret, qui mihi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? Quod ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet, et si quos alios antiquiorum agitare *Aper*[1] non destitit, non exigit defensorem, cum fatear quaedam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae defuisse.

26 Ceterum si omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercle C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est orationem vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et meretriciis vestibus insignire. Neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercle ne virilis quidem cultus est, quo plerique temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur ut lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis histrionales modos exprimant. Quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique iactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos; unde oritur illa foeda

[1] See note 44, p. 140.

with Cicero himself—it was quite usual, I take it, to harbour feelings of jealousy and spite; they were liable to all the failings that mark our poor human nature. To my thinking Brutus is the only one of them who showed no rancour and no ill-will: in straightforward and ingenuous fashion he spoke out what was in his mind. Was it likely that Brutus would have any ill-will for Cicero? Why, he does not seem to me to have felt any for Julius Caesar himself. As to Servius Galba and Gaius Laelius, and any of the other 'ancients,' speaking comparatively, whom Aper so persistently disparaged, their case does not call for any defence; I am free to admit that their style of eloquence had the defects that are incidental to infancy and immaturity.

"If, however, one had to choose a style without taking absolutely ideal standards of eloquence into account, I should certainly prefer the fiery spirit of Gaius Gracchus or the mellowness of Lucius Crassus to the coxcombry of a Maecenas or the jingle-jangle of a Gallio; for it is undoubtedly better to clothe what you have to say even in rough homespun than to parade it in the gay-coloured garb of a courtesan. There is a fashion much in vogue with quite a number of counsel nowadays that ill befits an orator, and is indeed scarce worthy even of a man. They make it their aim, by wantonness of language, by shallow-pated conceits, and by irregular arrangement, to produce the rhythms of stage-dancing; and whereas they ought to be ashamed even to have such a thing said by others, many of them actually boast that their speeches can be sung and danced to, as though that were something creditable, distinguished, and clever. This is the origin of

et praepostera, sed tamen frequens exclamatio[1], ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. Equidem non negaverim Cassium Severum, quem solum Aper noster nominare ausus est, si iis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus bilis habeat quam sanguinis; primus enim contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus, non pugnat, sed rixatur. Ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat, quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. Ego autem exspectabam ut incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo aliud nobis agmen produceret, pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret, ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde singulos opponeremus. Nunc detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores contentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est nisi in publicum et in commune—veritus, credo, ne multos offenderet si paucos excerpsisset. Quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione

[1] See note 45, p. 140.

the epigram, so shameful and so wrong-headed, but yet so common, which says that at Rome 'orators speak voluptuously and actors dance eloquently.' With reference to Cassius Severus, who is the only one our friend Aper ventured to name, I should not care to deny that, if he is compared with those who came after him, he may be called a real orator, though a considerable portion of his compositions contains more of the choleric element than of good red blood. Cassius was the first to treat lightly the arrangement of his material, and to disregard propriety and restraint of utterance. He is unskilful in the use of the weapons of his choice, and so keen is he to hit that he quite frequently loses his balance. So, instead of being a warrior, he is simply a brawler. As already stated, however, compared with those who came after him, he is far ahead of them in all-round learning, in the charm of his wit, and in sheer strength and pith. Aper could not prevail on himself to name any of those successors of Cassius, and to bring them into the firing-line. My expectation, on the other hand, was that after censuring Asinius and Caelius and Calvus, he would bring along another squad, and would name a greater or at least an equal number from whom we might pit one against Cicero, another against Caesar, and so, champion against champion, throughout the list. Instead of this he has restricted himself to a criticism of certain stated orators among the 'ancients,' without venturing to commend any of their successors, except in the most general terms. He was afraid, I fancy, of giving offence to many by specifying only a few. Why, almost all our professional rhetoricians plume themselves on their pet conviction that each of them

fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum ?

At ego non verebor [1] nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis adpareat quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia."

27 "Adpara te" [2] inquit Maternus "et potius exsolve promissum. Neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est, sed causas exquirimus quas te solitum tractare paulo ante *dixisti* plane mitior et eloquentiae temporum nostrorum minus iratus, antequam te Aper offenderet maiores tuos lacessendo."

"Non sum" inquit "offensus Apri *mei* disputatione, nec vos offendi decebit, si quid forte aures vestras perstringat, cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi citra damnum adfectus proferre."

"Perge" inquit Maternus "et cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia."

28 Et Messalla, "Non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris, nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas, etiam si mihi partes adsignatis proferendi in medium quae omnes sentimus. Quis

[1] See note 46, p. 140.
[2] See note 47, p. 140.

is to be ranked as superior to Cicero, though distinctly inferior to Gabinianus.

"I shall not hesitate, on the other hand, to name individuals in order to show, by the citation of instances, the successive stages in the decline and fall of eloquence."

Thereupon Maternus exclaimed: "Get ready, and rather make good your promise. We do not want you to lead up to the conclusion that the ancients excelled us in eloquence. I regard that as an established fact. What we are asking for is the reasons of the decline. You said a little while ago that this forms a frequent subject of consideration with you: that was when you were in a distinctly milder frame of mind, and not so greatly incensed against contemporary eloquence,—in fact, before Aper gave you a shock by his attack on your ancestors."

"My good friend Aper's discourse did not shock me," Messalla replied, "and no more must you be shocked by anything that may chance to grate upon your ears. You know that it is the rule in talks of this kind to speak out one's inmost convictions without prejudice to friendly feeling."

"Go on," said Maternus, "and in dealing with the men of olden times see that you avail yourself of all the old-fashioned outspokenness which we have fallen away from even more than we have from eloquence."

"My dear Maternus," Messalla continued, "the reasons you ask for are not far to seek. You know them yourself, and our good friends Secundus and Aper know them too, though you want me to take the rôle of the person who holds forth on views that are common to all of us. Everybody is aware that it

enim ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artes descivisse ab illa vetere gloria non inopia hominum, sed desidia iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui? quae mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, iam in provincias manant. Quamquam vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar, quae natos statim excipiunt et per singulos aetatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina maiorum circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixero.

Nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cellula emptae nutricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis. Eligebatur autem maior aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis spectatisque moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles committeretur; coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum sanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus. Quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus

is not for lack of votaries that eloquence and the other arts as well have fallen from their former high estate, but because of the laziness of our young men, the carelessness of parents, the ignorance of teachers, and the decay of the old-fashioned virtue. It was at Rome that this backsliding first began, but afterwards it permeated Italy and now it is making its way abroad. You know provincial conditions, however, better than I do; I am going to speak of the capital and of our home-grown Roman vices, which catch on to us as soon as we are born, and increase with each successive stage of our development. But first I must say a word or two about the rigorous system which our forefathers followed in the matter of the upbringing and training of their children.

"In the good old days, every man's son, born in wedlock, was brought up not in the chamber of some hireling nurse, but in his mother's lap, and at her knee. And that mother could have no higher praise than that she managed the house and gave herself to her children. Again, some elderly relative would be selected in order that to her, as a person who had been tried and never found wanting, might he entrusted the care of all the youthful scions of the same house; in the presence of such an one no base word could be uttered without grave offence, and no wrong deed done. Religiously and with the utmost delicacy she regulated not only the serious tasks of her youthful charges, but their recreations also and their games. It was in this spirit, we are told, that Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, directed their upbringing, Aurelia that of Caesar, Atia of Augustus: thus it was that these mothers trained their princely children. The object of this rigorous system was that the natural disposition of every child, while still sound at

detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas, et sive ad rem militarem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret.

29 At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus. Horum fabulis et erroribus teneri statim et rudes animi imbuuntur; nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat. Quin etiam ipsi parentes nec probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt, sed lasciviae et dicacitati, per quae paulatim impudentia inrepit et sui alienique contemptus. Iam vero propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia: quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? Quotum quemque invenies qui domi quicquam aliud loquatur? Quos alios adulescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? Ne praeceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis

the core and untainted, not warped as yet by any vicious tendencies, might at once lay hold with heart and soul on virtuous accomplishments, and whether its bent was towards the army, or the law, or the pursuit of eloquence, might make that its sole aim and its all-absorbing interest.

"Nowadays, on the other hand, our children are handed over at their birth to some silly little Greek serving-maid, with a male slave, who may be any one, to help her,—quite frequently the most worthless member of the whole establishment, incompetent for any serious service. It is from the foolish tittle-tattle of such persons that the children receive their earliest impressions, while their minds are still pliant and unformed; and there is not a soul in the whole house who cares a jot what he says or does in the presence of its lisping little lord. Yes, and the parents themselves make no effort to train their little ones in goodness and self-control; they grow up in an atmosphere of laxity and pertness, in which they come gradually to lose all sense of shame, and all respect both for themselves and for other people. Again, there are the peculiar and characteristic vices of this metropolis of ours, taken on, as it seems to me, almost in the mother's womb,—the passion for play actors, and the mania for gladiatorial shows and horse-racing; and when the mind is engrossed in such occupations, what room is left over for higher pursuits? How few are to be found whose home-talk runs to any other subjects than these? What else do we overhear our younger men talking about whenever we enter their lecture-halls? And the teachers are just as bad. With them, too, such topics supply material for gossip with their classes more frequently than any others; for it is not by the strict administra-

fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento, sed ambitione salutationum et inlecebris adulationis.

30 Transeo prima discentium elementa, in quibus et ipsis parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur. Sed expetuntur quos rhetoras vocant; quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit, quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit, statim dicturus referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus quorum infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum adsiduae exercitationes ipsorum etiam continentur libris. Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius civile didicisse, apud Philonem Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse; neque iis doctoribus contentum quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat, Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complecteretur. Itaque hercle in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non

tion of discipline, or by giving proof of their ability to teach that they get pupils together, but by pushing themselves into notice at morning calls and by the tricks of toadyism.

"I pass by the first rudiments of education, though even these are taken too lightly: it is in the reading of authors, and in gaining a knowledge of the past, and in making acquaintance with things[1] and persons and occasions that too little solid work is done. Recourse is had instead to the so-called rhetoricians. As I mean to speak in the immediate sequel of the period at which this vocation first made its way to Rome, and of the small esteem in which it was held by our ancestors, I must advert to the system which we are told was followed by those orators whose unremitting industry and daily preparation and continuous practice in every department of study are referred to in their own published works. You are of course familiar with Cicero's 'Brutus,' in the concluding portion of which treatise—the first part contains a review of the speakers of former days—he gives an account of his own first beginnings, his gradual progress, and what I may call his evolution as an orator. He tells us how he studied civil law with Q. Mucius, and thoroughly absorbed philosophy in all its departments as a pupil of Philo the Academic and Diodotus the Stoic; and not being satisfied with the teachers who had been accessible to him at Rome, he went to Greece, and travelled also through Asia Minor, in order to acquire a comprehensive training in every variety of knowledge. Hence it comes that in Cicero's works one may detect the fact that he was not lacking in a knowledge of mathematics, of music, of

[1] See note 48, p. 141.

denique ullius ingenuae artis scientiam ei defuisse. Ille dialecticae subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. Ita est enim, optimi viri, ita: ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

31 Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intellegebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent, nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut iis artibus pectus implerent in quibus de bonis ac malis, de honesto et turpi, de iusto et iniusto disputatur; haec enim est oratori subiecta ad dicendum materia. Nam in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus *de utilitate, in laudationibus* [1] de honestate disserimus, ita *tamen* ut plerumque haec in vicem misceantur: de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque

[1] See note 49, p. 141.

linguistics—in short, of any department of the higher learning. Yes, Cicero was quite at home in the subtleties of dialectic, in the practical lessons of ethical philosophy, in the changes and origins of natural phenomena. Yes, my good friends, that is the fact: it is only from a wealth of learning, and a multitude of accomplishments, and a knowledge that is universal that his marvellous eloquence wells forth like a mighty stream. The orator's function and activity is not, as is the case with other pursuits, hemmed in all round within narrow boundaries. He only deserves the name who has the ability to speak on any and every topic with grace and distinction of style, in a manner fitted to win conviction, appropriately to the dignity of his subject-matter, suitably to the case in hand, and with resulting gratification to his audience.

"This was fully understood by the men of former days. They were well aware that, in order to attain the end in view, the practice of declamation in the schools of rhetoric was not the essential matter, —the training merely of tongue and voice in imaginary debates which had no point of contact with real life. No, for them the one thing needful was to stock the mind with those accomplishments which deal with good and evil, virtue and vice, justice and injustice. It is this that forms the subject-matter of oratory. Speaking broadly, in judicial oratory our argument turns upon fair dealing, in the oratory of debate upon advantage, in eulogies upon moral character, though these topics quite frequently overlap. Now it is impossible for any speaker to treat them with fullness, and variety, and elegance, unless he has made a study of human nature, of the meaning

vitiorum et intellectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur. Ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat qui scit quid ira, et promptius ad miserationem impellat qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. In his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum, et prout cuiusque natura postulabit adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. Sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. Alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos. Dabunt Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon iucunditatem; ne Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere iisque, prout res poscit, uti alienum erit oratori. Neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum comitem, sed eum qui quasdam artes

of goodness and the wickedness of vice, and unless he has learnt to appreciate the significance of what ranks neither on the side of virtue nor on that of vice. This is the source from which other qualifications also are derived. The man who knows what anger is will be better able either to work on or to mollify the resentment of a judge, just as he who understands compassion, and the emotions by which it is aroused, will find it easier to move him to pity. If your orator has made himself familiar with these branches by study and practice, whether he has to address himself to a hostile or a friendly or a grudging audience, whether his hearers are ill-humoured or apprehensive, he will feel their pulse, and will handle them in every case as their character requires, and will give the right tone to what he has to say, keeping the various implements of his craft lying ready to hand for any and every purpose. There are some with whom a concise, succinct style carries most conviction, one that makes the several lines of proof yield a rapid conclusion: with such it will be an advantage to have paid attention to dialectic. Others are more taken with a smooth and steady flow of speech, drawn from the fountain-head of universal experience: in order to make an impression upon these we shall borrow from the Peripatetics their stock arguments, suited and ready in advance for either side of any discussion. Combativeness will be the contribution of the Academics, sublimity that of Plato, and charm that of Xenophon; nay, there will be nothing amiss in a speaker taking over even some of the excellent aphorisms of Epicurus and Metrodorus, and applying them as the case may demand. It is not a professional philosopher that we are delineating, nor a hanger-on of the Stoics, but the man

haurire, omnes libare debet. Ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica geometria imbuebantur. Incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem in quibus haec quoque scientia requiritur.

32 Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere ut ad tempus simplex quiddam et uniforme doceamur. Primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur. Deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliud agentes nos ornat, atque ubi minime credas eminet et excellit. Idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit, ac statim ita laude prosequitur ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse aliter exsistere nec exstitisse umquam confirmo nisi eum qui, tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit. Quod adeo neglegitur ab horum temporum disertis ut in actionibus eorum huius quoque cotidiani sermonis foeda ac

who, while he ought thoroughly to absorb certain branches of study, should also have a bowing acquaintance with them all. That is the reason why the orators of former days made a point of acquiring a knowledge of civil law, while they received a tincture also of literature, music, and mathematics. In the cases that come one's way, what is essential in most instances, indeed almost invariably, is legal knowledge, but there are often others in which you are expected to be well versed also in the subjects just mentioned.

"Do not let any one argue in reply that it is enough for us to be coached in some straightforward and clearly defined issue in order to meet the case immediately before us. To begin with, the use we make of what belongs to ourselves is quite different from our use of what we take on loan: there is obviously a wide gulf between owning what we give out and borrowing it from others. In the next place, breadth of culture is an ornament that tells of itself even when one is not making a point of it: it comes prominently into view where you would least expect it. This fact is fully appreciated not only by the learned and scholarly portion of the audience, but also by the rank and file. They cheer the speaker from the start, protesting that he has been properly trained, that he has gone through all the points of good oratory, and that he is, in short, an orator in the true sense of the word: and such an one cannot be, as I maintain, and never was any other than he who enters the lists of debate with all the equipment of a man of learning, like a warrior taking the field in full armour. Our clever speakers of to-day, however, lose sight of this ideal to such an extent that one can detect in their pleadings the shameful and discreditable blemishes

pudenda vitia deprehendantur; ut ignorent leges, non teneant senatus consulta, ius *huius* civitatis [1] ultro derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident. In paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur.

Ergo hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. Si testes desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud Graecos Demosthenem, quem studiosissimum Platonis auditorem fuisse memoriae proditum est? Et Cicero [2] his, ut opinor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia effecerit, id se non rhetorum *officinis*, sed Academiae spatiis consecutum. Sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves, quas a vobis aperiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego iam meum munus explevi, et quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi, quos, si forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse."

33 Et Maternus "Mihi quidem" inquit "susceptum a te munus adeo peregisse nondum videris ut incohasse

[1] See note 50, p. 142.
[2] See note 51, p. 142.

even of our everyday speech. They know nothing of statute-law, they have no hold of the decrees of the senate, they go out of their way to show contempt for the law of the constitution, and as for the pursuit of philosophy and the sages' saws they regard them with downright dismay. Eloquence is by them degraded, like a discrowned queen, to a few commonplaces and cramped conceits. She who in days of yore reigned in the hearts of men as the mistress of all the arts, encircled by a brilliant retinue, is now curtailed and mutilated, shorn of all her state, all her distinction, I had almost said all her freedom, and is learnt like any vulgar handicraft.

"This then I take to be the first and foremost reason why we have degenerated to such an extent from the eloquence of the orators of old. If you want witnesses, what weightier evidence can I produce than Demosthenes among the Greeks, who is said to have been one of Plato's most enthusiastic students? Our own Cicero tells us too—I think in so many words—that anything he accomplished as an orator he owed not to the workshops of the rhetorician, but to the spacious precincts of the Academy. There are other reasons, important and weighty, which ought in all fairness to be unfolded by you, since I have now done my part and have as usual put up the backs of quite a number, who will be sure to say, if my words chance to reach their ears, that it is only in order to cry up my own pet vanities that I have been extolling a knowledge of law and philosophy as indispensable to the orator."

"Nay," said Maternus, "it seems to me that you have failed so far to fulfil the task you undertook. You have only made a beginning of it, and you have traced out for us what I take to be nothing more

tantum et velut vestigia ac liniamenta quaedam ostendisse videaris. Nam quibus *artibus* instrui veteres oratores soliti sint dixisti, differentiamque nostrae desidiae et inscientiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti : cetera exspecto, ut quem ad modum ex te didici quid aut illi scierint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. Neque enim tantum arte et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et *usu* eloquentiam contineri, nec tu, puto, abnues et hi significare vultu videntur."

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens : "Quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui erudirique soliti sint, persequar nunc exercitationes eorum. Quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere tot tam varias ac reconditas res potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus eloquentiae accedat. Per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis. Sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitatione

than the bare outline of the subject. You have spoken, it is true, of the accomplishments which formed as a rule the equipment of the orators of bygone days, and you have set forth our indolence and ignorance in strong contrast to their enthusiastic and fruitful application. But I am looking for what is to come next. You have taught me the extent of their knowledge and our abysmal ignorance: what I want also to know about is the methods of training by which it was customary for their young men, when about to enter on professional life, to strengthen and develop their intellectual powers. For the true basis of eloquence is not theoretical knowledge only, but in a far greater degree natural capacity and practical exercise. To this view I am sure you will not demur, and our friends here, to judge by their looks, seem to indicate concurrence."

Both Aper and Secundus expressed agreement with this statement, whereupon Messalla made what may be called a fresh start. "Since I have given," he said, "what seems to be a sufficient account of the first beginnings and the germs of ancient oratory, by setting forth the branches on which the orators of former days were wont to base their training and instruction, I shall now proceed to take up their practical exercises. And yet theory itself involves practice, and it is impossible for any one to grasp so many diverse and abstruse subjects, unless his theoretical knowledge is re-enforced by practice, his practice by natural ability, and his ability by experience of public speaking. The inference is that there is a certain identity between the method of assimilating what you express and that of expressing what you have assimilated. But if any one thinks this a dark saying, and wants to separate theory from practice, he must at least admit

separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.

34 Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et iurgiis interesset, utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. Magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii iuvenibus statim contingebat, in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit quo minus et iudex respuat et adversarius exprobret, ipsi denique advocati aspernentur. Igitur vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam unum sequerentur, tamen omnes eiusdem aetatis patronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebant; habebantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium copiam, ex qua facile deprehenderent quid in quoque vel probaretur vel displiceret. Ita nec praeceptor deerat, optim-

that the man whose mind is fully furnished with such theoretical knowledge will come better prepared to the practical exercises which are commonly regarded as the distinctive training of the orator.

"Well then, in the good old days the young man who was destined for the oratory of the bar, after receiving the rudiments of a sound training at home, and storing his mind with liberal culture, was taken by his father, or his relations, and placed under the care of some orator who held a leading position at Rome. The youth had to get the habit of following his patron about, of escorting him in public, of supporting him at all his appearances as a speaker, whether in the law courts or on the platform, hearing also his word-combats at first hand, standing by him in his duellings, and learning, as it were, to fight in the fighting-line. It was a method that secured at once for the young students a considerable amount of experience, great self-possession, and a goodly store of sound judgment: for they carried on their studies in the light of open day, and amid the very shock of battle, under conditions in which any stupid or ill-advised statement brings prompt retribution in the shape of the judge's disapproval, taunting criticism from your opponent—yes, and from your own supporters expressions of dissatisfaction. So it was a genuine and unndulterated eloquence that they were initiated in from the very first; and though they attached themselves to a single speaker, yet they got to know all the contemporary members of the bar in a great variety of both civil and criminal cases. Moreover a public meeting gave them the opportunity of noting marked divergences of taste, so that they could easily detect what commended itself in the case of each individual speaker, and what on the other hand

us quidem et electissimus, qui faciem eloquentiae, non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et aemuli ferro, non rudibus dimicantes, nec auditorium semper plenum, semper novum, ex invidis et faventibus, ut nec bene *nec male* dicta dissimularentur. Scitis enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subselliis parari quam suis; inde quin immo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corroborari. Atque hercule sub eius modi praeceptoribus iuvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis, cui cotidie audienti notae leges, non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. Nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicensimo Caesar Dolabellam, altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt quas hodie quoque [1] cum admiratione legimus.

35 At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur in scholas

[1] See note 52, p. 142.

failed to please. In this way they could command, firstly, a teacher, and him the best and choicest of his kind, one who could show forth the true features of eloquence, and not a weak imitation; secondly, opponents and antagonists, who fought with swords, not with wooden foils; and thirdly, an audience always numerous and always different, composed of friendly and unfriendly critics, who would not let any points escape them, whether good or bad. For the oratorical renown that is great and lasting is built up, as you know, quite as much among the opposition benches as on those of one's own side; indeed, its growth in that quarter is sturdier, and takes root more firmly. Yes, under such instructors the young man who is the subject of this discourse, the pupil of real orators, the listener in the forum, the close attendant on the law courts, trained to his work in the school of other people's efforts, who got to know his law by hearing it cited every day, who became familiar with the faces on the bench, who made the practice of public meetings a subject of constant contemplation, and who had many opportunities of studying the vagaries of the popular taste,—such a youth, whether he undertook to appear as prosecutor or for the defence, was competent right away to deal with any kind of case, alone and unaided. Lucius Crassus was only eighteen when he impeached Gaius Carbo, Caesar twenty when he undertook the prosecution of Dolabella, Asinius Pollio twenty-one when he attacked Gaius Cato, and Calvus not much older when he prosecuted Vatinius. The speeches they delivered on those occasions are read to this day with admiration.

"But nowadays our boys are escorted to the

istorum qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora exstitisse nec placuisse maioribus nostris ex eo manifestum est quod a Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, 'ludum impudentiae' iussi sunt. Sed ut dicere instituerat, deducuntur in scholas *de* quibus[1] non facile dixerim utrumne locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali ingeniis adferant. Nam in loco nihil reverentiae est, *scilicet* in quem[2] nemo nisi aeque imperitus intrat; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adulescentuli inter adulescentulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae. Nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. Ex his suasoriae quidem etsi, tamquam plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes, pueris delegantur, controversiae robustioribus adsignantur,—quales, per fidem, et quam incredibiliter compositae! Sequitur autem ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur. Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitiatarum electiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut incesta matrum aut quidquid in schola

[1] See note 54, p. 142.
[2] See note 55, p. 142.

schools of the so-called 'professors of rhetoric,'—persons who came on the scene just before the time of Cicero but failed to find favour with our forefathers, as is obvious from the fact that the censors Crassus and Domitius ordered them to shut down what Cicero calls their 'school of shamelessness.'[1] They are escorted, as I was saying, to these schools, of which it would be hard to say what is most prejudicial to their intellectual growth, the place itself, or their fellow-scholars, or the studies they pursue. The place has nothing about it that commands respect,—no one enters it who is not as ignorant as the rest; there is no profit in the society of the scholars, since they are all either boys or young men who are equally devoid of any feeling of responsibility whether they take the floor or provide an audience; and the exercises in which they engage largely defeat their own objects. You are of course aware that there are two kinds of subject-matter handled by these professors, the deliberative and the disputatious. Now while, as regards the former, it is entrusted to mere boys, as being obviously of less importance and not making such demands on the judgment, the more mature scholars are asked to deal with the latter,—but, good heavens! what poor quality is shown in their themes, and how unnaturally they are made up! Then in addition to the subject-matter that is so remote from real life, there is the bombastic style in which it is presented. And so it comes that themes like these: 'the reward of the king-killer,' or 'the outraged maid's alternatives,' or 'a remedy for the plague,' or 'the incestuous mother,' and all the other topics that are treated every day in the school, but seldom

[1] See note 53, p. 142.

cotidie agitur, in foro vel raro vel numquam, ingentibus verbis prosequantur: cum ad veros iudices ventum . . .[1]

36 . . . rem cogitare; nihil humile, nihil abiectum eloqui poterat. Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo clarescit.

Eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet quantum erranti populo persuadere poterat. Hinc leges adsiduae et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et adsidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. Quae singula etsi distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis

[1] See note 56, p. 142.

or never in actual practice, are set forth in magniloquent phraseology; but when the speaker comes before a real tribunal . . .

". . . to have regard to the subject in hand. With him it was an impossibility to give forth any utterance that was trivial or commonplace. Great oratory is like a flame: it needs fuel to feed it, movement to fan it, and it brightens as it burns.

"At Rome too the eloquence of our forefathers owed its development to the same conditions. For although the orators of to-day have also succeeded in obtaining all the influence that it would be proper to allow them under settled, peaceable, and prosperous political conditions, yet their predecessors in those days of unrest and unrestraint thought they could accomplish more when, in the general ferment and without the strong hand of a single ruler, a speaker's political wisdom was measured by his power of carrying conviction to the unstable populace. This was the source of the constant succession of measures put forward by champions of the people's rights, of the harangues of state officials who almost spent the night on the hustings, of the impeachments of powerful criminals and hereditary feuds between whole families, of schisms among the aristocracy and never-ending struggles between the senate and the commons. All this tore the commonwealth in pieces, but it provided a sphere for the oratory of those days and heaped on it what one saw were vast rewards. The more influence a man could wield by his powers of speech, the more readily did he attain to high office, the further did he, when in office, outstrip his colleagues in the race for precedence, the more did he gain favour with the great, authority with the

apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. Hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. Quin immo sibi persuaserant neminem sine eloquentia aut adsequi posse in civitate aut tueri conspicuum et eminentem locum : nec mirum, cum etiam inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere, nisi qui ingenio et eloquentia sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum testimonia quoque in *iudiciis* publicis non absentes nec per tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere cogerentur. Ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat ; et quo modo disertum haberi pulchrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem videri deforme habebatur.

37 Ergo non minus rubore quam praemiis stimulabantur ne clientulorum loco potius quam patronorum numerarentur, ne traditae a maioribus necessitudines

senate, and name and fame with the common people. These were the men who had whole nations of foreigners under their protection, several at a time; the men to whom state officials presented their humble duty on the eve of their departure to take up the government of a province, and to whom they paid their respects on their return; the men who, without any effort on their own part, seemed to have praetorships and consulates at their beck and call; the men who even when out of office were in power, seeing that by their advice and authority they could bend both the senate and the people to their will. With them moreover it was a conviction that without eloquence it was impossible for any one either to attain to a position of distinction and prominence in the community, or to maintain it: and no wonder they cherished this conviction, when they were called on to appear in public even when they would rather not, when it was not enough to move a brief resolution in the senate, unless one made good one's opinion in an able speech, when persons who had in some way or other incurred odium, or else were definitely charged with some offence, had to put in an appearance in person, when moreover evidence in criminal trials had to be given not indirectly or by affidavit, but personally and by word of mouth. So it was that eloquence not only led to great rewards, but was also a sheer necessity; and just as it was considered great and glorious to have the reputation of being a good speaker, so, on the other hand, it was accounted discreditable to be inarticulate and incapable of utterance.

"Thus it was a sense of shame quite as much as material reward that gave them an incentive. They wanted to be ranked with patrons rather than poor dependents;

ad alios transirent, ne tamquam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impetrarent aut impetratos male tuerentur. Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur, ac iam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita sunt. Ex his intellegi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse; Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullos et Curiones et ceteram procerum manum multum in his studiis operae curaeque posuisse, nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine aliqua eloquentia consecutum.

His accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant. Nam multum interest utrumne de furto aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas, an de ambitu comitiorum, de expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis. Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est, isque optimus civitatis status habendus in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant. Crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et inlustrem orationem

they could not bear to let inherited connections pass into the hands of strangers; and they had to avoid the reputation for apathy and incompetence that would either keep them from obtaining office or make their official careers a failure. I wonder if you have seen the ancient records which are still extant in the libraries of collectors, and which are even now being compiled by Mucianus: they have already been arranged and edited in eleven volumes, I think, of Proceedings and five of Letters. They make it clear that Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus rose to power not only as warriors and men of might, but also by their talent for oratory; that the Lentuli and the Metelli and the Luculli and the Curios and all the great company of our nobles devoted great care and attention to these pursuits; and that in their day no one attained to great influence without some gift of eloquence.

"There was a further advantage in the high rank of the persons who were brought to trial and the importance of the interests involved, factors which are also in a great degree conducive to eloquence. For it makes a good deal of difference whether you are briefed to speak about a case of theft, or a rule of procedure, and the provisional order of a magistrate, or about electioneering practices, the robbery of a province, and the murder of fellow-citizens. It is better, of course, that such horrors should not occur at all, and we must regard that as the most enviable political condition in which we are not liable to anything of the kind. Yet when these things did happen, they furnished the orators of the day with ample material. Hand in hand with the importance of the theme goes the growing ability to cope with it, and it is a sheer impossibility for any one to produce a

efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit. Non, opinor, Demosthenem orationes inlustrant quas adversus tutores suos composuit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quintius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt, non quia tanti fuit[1] rei publicae malos ferre cives ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed, ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus exsistit. Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari? plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. Similis eloquentiae condicio. Nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in acie quoque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit quoque maiores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminibus in ore hominum agit, quorum ea natura est ut secura velint *periculosa mirentur*[2].

38 Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum. Quae etsi nunc aptior exstiterit[3], eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat, in quo nemo intra paucissimas perorare horas cogebatur et liberae comperendinationes erant et modum *in*

[1] See note 57, p. 144.
[2] See note 58, p. 144.
[3] See note 59, p. 144.

great and glorious oration unless he has found a theme to correspond. It is not, I take it, the speeches which he composed in the action he brought against his guardians that give Demosthenes his name and fame, nor does Cicero rest his claims to greatness as an orator on his defence of Publius Quintius or Licinius Archias. No, it was a Catiline, a Milo, a Verres, an Antonius that made his reputation for him. I do not mean that it was worth the country's while to produce bad citizens, just in order that our orators might have an ample supply of material; but let us bear in mind the point at issue, as I keep urging you to do, realising that our discourse is dealing with an art which comes to the front more readily in times of trouble and unrest. We all know that the blessings of peace bring more profit and greater happiness than the horrors of war; yet war produces a larger number of good fighters than peace. It is the same with eloquence. The oftener it takes its stand in the lists, the more numerous the strokes it gives and receives, the more powerful the opponents and the more keenly contested the issues it deliberately selects, in like proportion does eloquence carry its head higher and more erect before the eyes of men, deriving ever greater lustre from the very hazards it encounters. For men are naturally prone, while courting security for themselves, to admire whatever has an element of risk.

"I pass on to the organisation and procedure of the old law-courts. It may nowadays have become more practical, but all the same the forum as it then was provided a better training-ground for oratory. There was no obligation on any speaker to complete his pleading within an hour or two at the most;

dicendo sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur. Primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit, imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur: apud quos quanto maiora negotia olim exerceri solita sint, quod maius argumentum est quam quod causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique ullius magni oratoris liber apud centumviros dictus legatur, exceptis orationibus Asinii quae pro heredibus Vrbiniae inscribuntur, ab ipso tamen Pollione mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et adsidua senatus tranquillitas et maxima principis disciplina[1] ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia alia pacaverat[2].

39 Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod dicturus sum; dicam tamen, vel ideo ut rideatur. Quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae attulisse paenulas istas quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum iudicibus fabulamur? Quantum virium detraxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quibus

[1] See note 60, p. 144.

[2] See note 61, p. 145.

adjournments were always in order; as regards a time-limit, each man was a law to himself; and no attempt was made to define either how many days the case was to take or how many counsel were to be employed in it. It was Gnaeus Pompeius who, in his third consulship, first introduced limitations in regard to these matters. He may be said to have curbed eloquence with bit and bridle, without however cancelling the provision that everything should be done in court, according to law, and before a praetor. The best proof you can have of the greater importance of the cases dealt with by the praetors in former days is the fact that actions before the centumviral court, which are now considered to outrank all others, used to be so much overshadowed by the prestige of other tribunals that there is not a single speech, delivered before that court, that is read to-day, either by Cicero, or by Caesar, or by Brutus, or by Caelius, or by Calvus, or in fact by any orator of rank. The only exceptions are the speeches of Asinius Pollio entitled 'For Urbinia's Heirs,' and yet these are just the ones which he delivered well on in the middle of the reign of Augustus, when in consequence of the long period of peace, and the unbroken spell of inactivity on the part of the commons and of peaceableness on the part of the senate, by reason also of the working of the great imperial system, a hush had fallen upon eloquence, as indeed it had upon the world at large.

"My next point will perhaps strike you as trivial and ridiculous, but I shall make it, even if only to excite your ridicule. Take those gowns into which we squeeze ourselves when we chat with the court, a costume that shackles movement, do we ever reflect how largely responsible they are for the orator's loss

iam fere plurimae causae explicantur? Nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus, per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur debilitatur ac frangitur eloquentia. Ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis stili anxietatem contrariam experimur, quia saepe interrogat iudex quando incipias, et ex interrogatione eius incipiendum est: frequenter [probationibus et testibus [1]] silentium patronis indicit. Vnus inter haec dicenti aut alter adsistit, et res velut in solitudine agitur. Oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est, et velut quodam theatro; qualia cotidie antiquis oratoribus contingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent, cum clientelae quoque ac tribus et municipiorum etiam legationes ac pars Italiae periclitantibus adsisteret, cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur. Satis constat C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L. Bestiam et P. Vatinium concursu totius civitatis et

[1] See note 62, p. 145.

of dignity? Or think of the recitation-halls and record-offices in which pretty well most cases are nowadays despatched, have they not also greatly contributed to the emasculation of eloquence? Why, just as with blood-horses it takes a roomy track to show their mettle, so orators need a spacious field in which to expatiate without let or hindrance, if their eloquence is not to lose all its strength and pith. Moreover, painstaking preparation and the anxious effort for stylistic finish are found after all to do more harm than good. The judge often asks when you are going to come to the point, and you are bound to make a start as soon as he puts the question. Just as often he tells counsel to stop (so that evidence may be led and witnesses examined). All the time the speaker has only two or three for an audience, and the hearing goes forward in what is a scene of desolation. But your public speaker can't get along without 'hear, hear,' and the clapping of hands. He must have what I may call his stage. This the orators of former times could command day after day, when the forum was packed by an audience at the same time numerous and distinguished, when persons who had to face the hazard of a public trial could depend on being supported by shoals of clients and fellow-tribesmen, and by deputations also from the country towns; half Italy, in fact, was there to back them. These were the days when the people of Rome felt that in quite a number of cases they had a personal stake in the verdict. We know on good authority that both the impeachment and the defence of a Cornelius, a Scaurus, a Milo, a Bestia, a Vatinius brought the whole community together *en masse:* so that it would

accusatos et defensos, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. Itaque hercule eius modi libri extant ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus censeantur.

40 Iam vero contiones adsiduae et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria, cum se plurimi disertorum ne a Publico quidem Scipione aut *L.* Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent, et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque *ut* histriones auribus uterentur, quantum ardorem ingeniis, quas oratoribus faces admovebant![1]

Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine *reverentia*[2], contumax, temeraria, adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur. Quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepimus? quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur. Ne Macedonum quidem ac Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta fuerit

[1] See note 63, p. 145.
[2] See note 64, p. 145.

have been impossible for even the most frigid of speakers not to be enkindled and set on fire by the mere clash of partisan enthusiasm. That is why the quality of the published orations that have come down to us is so high that it is by these more than by any others that the speakers who appeared on either side actually take rank.

"Think again of the incessant public meetings, of the privilege so freely accorded of inveighing against persons of position and influence,—yes, and of the glory you gained by being at daggers drawn with them, in the days when so many clever speakers could not let even a Scipio alone, or a Sulla, or a Pompeius, and when, taking a leaf out of the book of stage-players, they made public meetings also the opportunity of launching characteristically spiteful tirades against the leading men of the state: how all this must have inflamed the able debater and added fuel to the fire of his eloquence!

"The art which is the subject of our discourse is not a quiet and peaceable art, or one that finds satisfaction in moral worth and good behaviour: no, really great and famous oratory is a foster-child of licence, which foolish men called liberty, an associate of sedition, a goad for the unbridled populace. It owes no allegiance to any. Devoid of reverence, it is insulting, off-hand, and overbearing. It is a plant that does not grow under a well-regulated constitution. Does history contain a single instance of any orator at Sparta, or at Crete, two states whose political system and legislation were more stringent than any other on record? It is equally true to say that in Macedonia and in Persia eloquence was unknown,

eloquentiam novimus. Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses oratores exstiterunt, apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant. Nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se partibus et dissensionibus et discordiis confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia, nulla in iudiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus magistratuum modus, tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam, sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores: sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

41 Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est. Quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? Quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit, nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? Quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexatamque? Atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicari. Quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. Quo modo, *inquam*,[1] minimum usus minimumque profectus ars medentis habet in iis gentibus quae

[1] See note 65, p. 145.

as indeed it was in all states that were content to live under a settled government. Rhodes has had some orators, Athens a great many: in both communities all power was in the hands of the populace—that is to say, the untutored democracy. The crowd ruled the roost. Likewise at Rome, so long as the constitution was unsettled, so long as the country kept wearing itself out with factions and dissensions and disagreements, so long as there was no peace in the forum, no harmony in the senate, no restraint in the courts of law, no respect for authority, no sense of propriety on the part of the officers of state, the growth of eloquence was doubtless sturdier, just as untilled soil produces certain vegetation in greater luxuriance. But the benefit derived from the eloquence of the Gracchi did not make up for what the country suffered from their laws, and too dearly did Cicero pay by the death he died for his renown in oratory.

"In the same way what little our orators have left them of the old forensic activities goes to show that our civil condition is still far from being ideally perfect. Does anyone ever call us lawyers to his aid unless he is either a criminal or in distress? Does any country town ever ask for our protection except under pressure either from an aggressive neighbour or from internal strife? Are we ever retained for a province except where robbery and oppression have been at work? Yet surely it were better to have no grievances than to need to seek redress. If a community could be found in which nobody ever did anything wrong, orators would be just as superfluous among saints as are doctors among those that need no physician. Just as the healing art, I repeat, is very little in demand and makes very little progress

firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimis corporibus utuntur, sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis, cum optimi cito consentiant? Quid multis apud populum contionibus, cum de re publica non imperiti et multi deliberent, sed sapientissimus et unus? Quid voluntariis accusationibus, cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur? Quid invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus, cum clementia cognoscentis obviam periclitantibus eat? Credite, optimi et in quantum opus est disertissimi viri, si aut vos prioribus saeculis aut illi quos miramur his nati essent, ac deus aliquis vitas vestras ac tempora[1] repente mutasset, nec vobis summa illa laus et gloria in eloquentia neque illis modus et temperamentum defuisset: nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur."

42 Finierat Maternus, cum Messalla: "Erant quibus contra dicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem, nisi iam dies esset exactus."

"Fiet" inquit Maternus "postea arbitratu tuo, et

[1] See note 66, p. 146.

in countries where people enjoy good health and strong constitutions, so oratory has less prestige and smaller consideration where people are well behaved and ready to obey their rulers. What is the use of long arguments in the senate, when good citizens agree so quickly? What is the use of one harangue after another on public platforms, when it is not the ignorant multitude that decides a political issue, but a monarch who is the incarnation of wisdom? What is the use of taking a prosecution on one's own shoulders when misdeeds are so few and so trivial, or of making oneself unpopular by a defence of inordinate length, when the defendant can count on a gracious judge meeting him half-way? Believe me, my friends, you who have all the eloquence that the times require: if you had lived in bygone days, or if the orators who rouse our admiration had lived to-day,—if some deity, I say, had suddenly made you change places in your lives and epochs, you would have attained to their brilliant reputation for eloquence just as surely as they would show your restraint and self-control. As things are, since it is impossible for anybody to enjoy at one and the same time great renown and great repose, let every one make the most of the blessings his own times afford without disparaging any other age."

When Maternus had finished speaking, "There were some points," Messalla said, "to which I should like to take exception, and others which, I think, might call for fuller treatment. But the hour grows late."

"Some other time," Maternus replied, "we shall take the matter up again, whenever you please. We can then discuss again anything in my argument

si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone visa sunt, de iis rursus conferemus."

Ac simul adsurgens et Aprum complexus "Ego" inquit "te poetis, Messalla *omnibus* antiquariis[1] criminabimur."

"At ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis" inquit.

Cum adrisissent, discessimus.

[1] See note 67, p. 146.

that may have struck you as needing further elucidation."

With that he rose from his seat and put his arms round Aper, saying, "We shall both denounce you,—I to the poets and Messalla to every lover of antiquity."

"And I," said Aper, "shall denounce both of you to the teachers of rhetoric and the professors."

They beamed on each other, and we went our ways.

CRITICAL NOTES

1. *Leges tu quid.* I follow here the reading of most manuscripts: *leges, inquit, quid* Halm, *intelleges tu quid* Greef.

2. *adgregare.* This is the emendation of Muretus: most codd. have *aggregares* (——*em* EV²), accepting which editors generally insert *ut* before *Domitium et Catonem*, so as to make the *ut . . . aggregares* clause explanatory of *novum negotium.* But an appositive infinitival clause is equally admissible: cp. Cic. Brut. § 74 *ad id quod instituisti, oratorum genera distinguere artibus . . . adcommodatam.* In my edition of the *Dialogus* (Oxford, 1893), I suggested *adgregandi.*

3. *excusent.* This verb may be used absolutely, and it is unnecessary to insert *se*, though, on the other hand, the pronoun may easily have fallen out between the last letter of *cognitionibus* and the first of *excusent.* Cp. *ferat*, 10, 24.

4. *Et ego enim :* "I too, on my side." Editors, except C. John, follow Pithoeus in suppressing *Et*, though it occurs in all manuscripts.

5. *invenimus.* This is perhaps the simplest emendation of the MS. reading *inveniri.* I had previously proposed *inveniri contigit*, on the strength of the well-

known use of a passive infinitive with impersonal verbs and phrases: Cic. Mil. § 8 *si sceleratos cives interfici nefas esset.* In any case, those critics and editors seem to be wrong who insist on inserting *non* before the verb, on the somewhat pedantic plea that Secundus does not formally act us a judge in what follows. For one thing the entrance of Messalla in chapter 14 somewhat alters the development. And the whole tone of what goes before the passage under consideration is against making Aper definitely rule Secundus out.

6. *apud hos.* My reading (for the MS. *apud eos*) seems as likely to be right as *apud vos* (Lipsius, and most edd.) or *apud nos* (C. John). The objection urged against it that Tacitus himself is in the background, the only other auditor at the moment being Secundus, is again somewhat pedantic. Tacitus takes no part, it is true, in the discussion: but he has already counted himself in, so to speak, with the words *Igitur ut intravimus* at the beginning of chapter 3, just as he does again with *discessimus* at the end of the whole talk. And, in any case, it would not be unnatural here for Aper to take notice of the presence of a youthful aspirant to rhetorical fame.

7. *vel ad voluptatem iucundius.* These words (with *dulcius* in place of *iucundius*, which comes from Nipperdey) were originally supplied by Ritter as indispensable to the context, though omitted accidentally in the manuscripts. For *iucundius* others read *honestius.* Cp. 31, 9.

8. *quid est tutius.* A recent emendation is that of H. Röhl—*quid est potius.*

9. *qui accinctus.* Following C. John, I now return to the reading of the manuscripts, instead of substituting *qua* for *qui*, with Ursinus and editors generally. *Accinctus* is used absolutely : " ready for fighting."

10. *quamquam grata quae diu serantur atque elaborentur :* " though you take pleasure in what needs a long time to sow and cultivate," or " to work up from the seedling stage." I retain the reading adopted in my edition. For the sentiment, compare the motto of McGill University, taken over (perhaps without strict regard to the context) from Lucretius ii., 1160,—*Grandescunt aucta labore.* Andresen thinks the subjunctive indefensible, but surely it is not out of place when used of an indefinite *class* or *kind* of growth, and occurring inside a concessive clause.

C. John undertakes to defend the MS. reading *alia*, for which *grata quae* is substituted in the text. He thinks that *alia* may be used by anticipation, as it were, and with reference to what follows in the sentence, so that it = " quae non sua sponte nascuntur."

11. *apud centumviros :* " before the centumviral court," or the Board of a Hundred. This court, which dated from early times, was specially charged with civil cases, such as those arising out of inheritance, wardship, and the like. It became more important under the Empire in proportion as other courts declined. See ch. 38.

12. *si non ultro oritur :* " unless it comes unbidden." For *ultro* the manuscripts give *in alio*, which has been defended as meaning " if it take not its rise in another source." An easy emendation would, of course, be *in animo*,—the abbreviated form of *animo* (*aīo*) being

very near to that for *alio :* and this I adopted in my edition. *Ultro* was originally proposed by a reviewer in the *Athenæum* (February 3, 1894), and has recently been repeated by H. Wagenvoort jr. in *Mnemosyne* (40.2.1912). The suggestion is that the *in* arose by dittography from the final *n* of *non,* and that then *ultro* became *alio.*

13. *Quinam inlustriores* is Orelli's emendation of the MS. reading *qui non illustres.* Others propose *Quid ? non illustres,* or *Qui tam illustres,* or *Qui illustriores ?*

14. *vacuos* occurs only in the Leyden codex, in place of *iuvenes,* which is omitted in most texts.

15. *minus notos.* Here *notos* was supplied by Ursinus : the codd. have *minus,* which some editors convert into *minores.*

16. *ipsi* Lipsius : *ipsis* codd.

17. *imagines ac tituli* might be rendered 'inscribed medallions' : the former are the bronze likenesses of the Emperor and other persons of distinction with which it was the custom to decorate the atrium, and the *tituli* are the eulogistic inscriptions placed underneath the medallions. This custom displaced the old 'imagines,' busts of ancestors with wax masks, previously exhibited by noble families, and often borne along in the funeral train of a deceased member of the house. The 'new men' had no ancestors to commemorate. Cp. ch. 11, *ad fin.*

18. *praecerpta* Schele : *praecepta* or *percepta,* codd.

19. *genium* Lipsius : *ingenium* codd.

20. *rarissimarum :* "few and far between as they are." There is obviously a difficulty here. The context would seem to call for the meaning "excellentissimarum," and it has been proposed to read "*clarissimarum*" instead of "*rarissimarum.*" But that is more than Aper would have been inclined to say of readings generally. Novak rejects *rarissimarum,* as having in all probability arisen out of a gloss on *quando.* Some one wrote, in answer to this question, *rarissime,*—probably in the margin: and this word was afterwards transferred to the text in the shape of an adjective. So we have at 41, 3, *idem quod nemo* as a gloss on *quis enim nos advocat ?* John suggests that this may also be the explanation of the passage already dealt with at 7, 14, where the MSS. have *Qui non illustres : non* being a gloss on *qui* to show what the answer ought to be.

21. *ceteris aliarum artium studiis, i.e.* the pursuit of non-literary accomplishments. This somewhat pleonastic phrase does not call for any emendation (such as *altiorum,* Andresen) : cp. Germ. 4, *nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis.*

22. *ferat.* Here, as with *excusent* 5, 3, the verb is used absolutely, so that it is unnecessary to follow Acidalius in inserting *te* before it, or (with Halm) to read *natura te tua.*

23. *hanc* was suggested by Haase for the MS. *aut* (*etiam,* Halm, *et* John).

24. *in quibus si quando.* I follow E (the Ottobonianus) in omitting altogether the unintelligible *expressis* after *quibus,*—probably the survival of some marginal gloss, now irrecoverable.

25. *cum quidem principe Nerone.* This is the reading which I now venture to propose, and adopt in the text. The manuscripts have *cum quidem in nerone* (*m*). It is possible that the *in* may be a survival from *principe,* the contracted form of which (p^{i}n^{e}) may have become confused with the preceding *quidem.* For the phrase cp. *principe Augusto,* Ann. iii, 71 : *illo principe* i, 81.

If Lucian Müller's *imperante Nerone* is preferred, I would suggest the transposition *Nerone imperante :* the abbreviated form of *imperante* may have fallen out in front of *improbam.*

26. *Nam statum hucusque . . . melius innocentia tueor.* The key to this passage is *tueor,* which is aptly followed by *nec vereor.* But it necessitates the change of the MS. *cuiusque* to *hucusque.* Some editors adopt Pichena's alteration of *tueor* to *tuetur,* retaining *cuiusque,* and making *innocentia* nominative, but this gives an awkward transition to the *nec vereor* clause.—The only suggestion on which I would venture is *tueri reor* for *tueor : nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem melius innocentia* (sc. quemque) *tueri reor quam eloquentia, nec vereor,* etc.

27. *ii quibus praestant nihil,* "those whom they are unable to oblige." Here again I venture to insert a conjecture in the text. *Praestant nihil* seems better than *non praestant* (Lipsius), and gains, perhaps, by being in chiastic relation to *aliquid rogentur.* The manuscripts have neither *nihil* nor *non.* To take the text, however, as the manuscript tradition gives it, and to understand *ii quibus praestant* of successful suitors chafing under a sense of obligation incurred, seems somewhat far-fetched.

28. *omni* Walther : *cum* codd. : *tamen* John.

29. *famamque pallentem.* "fame that makes the cheek turn pale," *i.e.* with excitement. Some editors prefer the alternative MS. reading *palantem* = *vagam* : "the talk of the town that flits from mouth to mouth" : *fallentem* has also been suggested, with the idea that fame is a "cheat."

30. *nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam.* It was recognised under the Empire that the best security a testator could take for the validity of his will was to include the emperor himself in his dispositions, and put him down for a handsome legacy.

31. *Quandoque enim fatalis et meus dies*
Veniet.

These words were recognised as a verse quotation first by Heller (Philol. li, 348 : 1892). Most codd. have *veniat :* if that reading be retained, the parenthensis disappears, and a comma must be inserted after *veniat*, to connect closely with *statuar. Quandoque* is indefinite : "some time or other."

The memory of a pleasant visit to the Deanery of Durham in the summer of last year (1912), only a few months before he died, may be my excuse for quoting here a modern counterpart of the sentiments of Maternus in the words used by the late Dean Kitchin at the close of his short and simple will : "Let no one make any memoir or biography of me ; may my funeral be as simple as possible, without flowers or any show ; a few wild flowers might be scattered over my grave. Let my burial be as little mournful as possible : the earthly end of a poor

sinner who dies thankful to the Almighty God for a long and very happy life."

32. *fratris tui.* Messalla's brother, or half-brother, was M. Aquilius Regulus, one of the most notorious of the *delatores,* or informers. Pliny frequently denounces him ("omnium bipedum nequissimus," the most blackguardly of bipeds!) both in that capacity and as a toady and legacy-hunter.

33. *parem* was added by Lipsius. The alternative is to delete *antiquis* as the survival of some gloss. Lipsius also suggested, in place of *antiquis,* atque id *eo credo audacius.*

34. *prae Catone* edd.: *pro Catone* codd. In place of the MS. reading the ed. Bipontina shows the conjecture *Porcio Catone,* and this reading has latterly been mentioned again with favour. But surely Tacitus would have written by preference *Marco Catone,* to balance *Appium Caecum?*

35. *Atticus* Ursinus: *antiquus* codd., and so John. The reference is to the distinction between the Attic and the Asiatic style of oratory. Cicero aimed at reconciling the two, but was considered "parum Atticus" and on the side of the Asiani, who were florid, turgid, and often excessively rhythmical. The Atticists on the other hand exaggerated "plainness" of style, with the result that it became bald and bloodless. See on Brutus and Calvus, ch. 17.

36. *equidem Cassium.* These words were supplied in the text of my Oxford edition to suggest the origin of an obvious lacuna. The eye of the copyist had run from the first *Cassium* to the second, and he

omitted the intervening words. They may be restored somewhat as follows: *Nam quatenus . . . solent, qui usque ad Cassium* [Severum volunt eloquentiam aequali et uno tenore processisse, libet quaerere quibus ille de causis novum dicendi genus inchoare ausus sit. Equidem Cassium] *quem reum faciunt* etc.

37. *at que ex ea* codd.: *et ex ea* most edd.

38. *Nec unum de populo,* etc. The reading given in italics is simply a suggestion to make some sense of a corrupt passage. The lacuna after *Atti* was noted by Halm.— In what follows I read *quique alii* < *omnes* > for the MS. *quique alios.*

39. *Sordes autem reliquae verborum*: "For the rest, his commonplace phraseology." *Reliquae* ("in the rest of his speeches") is Sorof's now generally accepted emendation for the *regulae* or *illae* of the codd.

40. *videmus enim quam* is Baehren's emendation of the MS. *viderimus inquam,* or *viderimus in quantum.* Halm follows Acidalius in reading *et videmus in quantum,* etc.

41. *eiusdem aetatis oratores* and *senior iam.* Now that additional evidence is forthcoming in further proof of the superiority of the tradition contained in what is known as the Y family of MSS. over that known as X, it will be seen that the order of words is rightly given in both these passages as against *oratores aetatis eiusdem* and *iam senior* (AB, followed by Halm). The same applies to *ingenuae artis* 30, 25, as against *artis ingenuae.*

42. † *si cominus fatetur.* No satisfactory explana-

tion of the manuscript reading has yet been given, and the passage is accordingly left unamended in the text. Readers may care to compare the following suggestions of various editors: *si comminans fatetur* (Nissen), *qua quasi convictus fatetur* (Halm), *qua quasi comminus nisus fatetur* (Müller), *quominus fatear* (John: cp. *commoda* in the MSS for *quomodo*, 36, *ad fin.*): *in qua nimirum fatetur*, or *ubi sicut omnes fatetur* (Peterson).

43. *tamen*, Gudeman: *autem*, codd.

44. *Aper.* The name was originally inserted before *agitare* by P. Voss: I follow John in putting it after the verb.

45. *frequens exclamatio.* The manuscripts have *frequens sicut his clam et exclamatio.* In place of the unintelligible *sicut his clam et* (which is omitted in my text), Rhenanus read *quibusdam*, Müller *si dis placet.* It looks as if another adjective was needed to balance *foeda et praepostera*: qy. *frequens et faceta*?

46. *At ego non verebor.* I follow John in restoring the old order of beginning the new chapter with these words. Modern editors commence with *Adpara te*, below.

47. *Adpara te*, "Get ready!" I adhere to my former reading as being nearest to the manuscript tradition (*Apparate, Aparte, Aperte*) and giving at the same time a good sense. Cp. *te para*, Cic. Fam. i. 7, and 9, 20: (qy. *At para te*?) The suggestion of *At paret* (with a reference to *adpareat* in the preceding line) might be supported (cp. pro Milone § 15), but would seem to require a change in what follows, *e.g. et < tu > potius exsolve.* Other emendations are *At parce* (Michaelis), and *Ah, parce* (Usener).

48. *rerum, hominum, temporum,* "things, persons, occasions." This is a safe translation, but the recurrence of "*rerum motus causasque*" below shows that *res* really = "natural phenomena," just as *homines* = "human personality," and *tempora* = "surrounding conditions." It is not quite the same division as *rerum . . . temporum . . . audientium,* at the end of the chapter. The reference in "*rerum motus causasque,*" on the following page, is obviously to that knowledge of natural science which underlies the great poem of Lucretius, *de Rerum Natura*—"philosophia naturalis," as distinct from "moralis" and "rationalis" (dialectics), Cic. de Fin. i. 4, 9, and Quint. xii. 2, 10. So in the passage now under consideration, Messalla—after stating that in his judgment literature (*in auctoribus cognoscendis*) and history (*in evolvenda antiquitate*) are slurred over and telescoped, as it were, in the race to get to the professor of rhetoric—adds that the same is true of a third division, viz. *notitia rerum, hominum, temporum.* Of these, *homines* are dealt with in 31, 5–19: *tempora* refers to the actual environment at any given time (cp. *ad utilitatem temporum,* below) "surrounding circumstances"; while *res* must have special reference, as already stated, to the exact sciences, such as physics and geometry, which—along with astronomy and natural science—were recognised since the time of the Sophists, especially Hippias, as forming a desirable and indeed indispensable part of an all-round education (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία).

49. *de utilitate, in laudationibus.* These words were added to the text by Ursinus, as indispensable to the context: cp on 5, 19. See Cic. de Or. ii, § 104, and the note in my edition of the *Dialogus.*

50. *ius huius civitatis*: "the law of the constitution." I retain in the text my conjecture *huius*, which may easily have fallen out after *ius*. The insertion of the pronoun may be held to give an added dignity to the phrase. On the other hand it must be admitted, in view of such references as Legg. i, 4, 14 and Top. 5, 28, that *ius civitatis* by itself in Cicero may = *ius civile*.

51. *Et Cicero*, etc. The reference is to Orator § 12, from which the word *officinis* was supplied in our text by Haase.

52. *hodie quoque*. This is the reading of AB as against the Y family of MSS. (*hodieque*). The latter form may be right (Germ. 3, 11). As C. John remarks, the way from *hodieque* to *hodie quoque* seems easier than the reverse order.

53. *ut ait Cicero*. The reference is to de Or. iii. § 94. Crassus was censor along with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, in 92 B.C. For their edict *de coercendis rhetoribus Latinis*, see Suet. Rhet. § 1: Mommsen, Hist. iii. 443–4.

54. *de quibus* is my emendation. The MSS. give *quibus*, and all editors follow Schurzfleisch in reading *in quibus*.

55. *scilicet in quem* for *sed in quem* was suggested by Acidalius, and seems right, especially as it allows us to retain the indicative *intrat*. For the confusion of the compendia for *sed* and *scilicet* cp. Cic. Att. xiii, 33, § 4.

56. For the lacuna which occurs in the text, and is marked in the manuscripts, at the close of the preceding chapter, see Introd. p. 9 *sqq*. The precise

reading followed at the beginning of ch. 36 comes to be of considerable importance, as depending on our estimate of the comparative value of the two families of MSS. X and Y. The former gives *rem cogitant nihil humile vel abiectum* : the latter *rem cogitare nihil humile nihil abiectum.* Now the note in Decembrio's diary, discovered by Sabbadini in 1901,[1] runs *rem cogitare nihil abiectum, nihil humile,* and Decembrio is understood to have written down his references from the *codex Hersfeldensis* itself, the original of all the existing MSS.—the intention of his note being to mark the beginning and end of each of the contents of the manuscripts, and in the case of the Dialogue the beginning and end also of the lacuna. His note may be taken as confirming *cogitare* against *cogitant,* and also *nihil* against *vel.* But the odd thing is that he transposes the order of the words, as we have it in our MSS., and reads *nihil abiectum nihil humile* (cp. Cic. de Fin. v, 57). It is probable that this transposition was made inadvertently—as sometimes happens—as Decembrio turned from the codex in front of him to make the jotting in his diary. Gudeman, indeed, suggests that, owing to the anaphora, either *nihil humile* or *nihil abiectum* had been omitted, and was written in above the line in the archetype in such a way that a reader would be at a loss to know which of the two came first. The copyists of X and Y read it one way, and Decembrio another.

It should be remarked that, in addition to *cogitare* and *nihil,* Decembrio's note certifies *prosequantur* instead of the rival reading *persequantur.* Here the

[1] *See* Gudeman, "Textual Problems in the Dialogus of Tacitus," *Classical Philology,* October 1912, pp. 417–18 ; and my article in the *American Journal of Philology,* January–April 1913.

codd. are divided—*prosequuntur* ABEV^2, *persequuntur* (*persequntur*) HVCΔ, *persequimur* D.

57. *fuit.* This is another instance of the "return to the manuscripts." It is not necessary to accept Madvig's *fuerit,* though most editors have done so.

58. *periculosa mirentur:* "admire whatever has an element of risk." This is C. John's addition, which seems to yield a good sense. Halm adopted (from Baehrens and Vahlen) the reading *ut securi ipsi spectare aliena pericula velint.* Other efforts have been made to heal the breach: *ut ancipitia non secura velint,* Schopen; *ut secura nolint,* Rhenanus; *ut dubia laudent, secura nolint,* R. Agricola; *ut secura vellicent,* Peterson.

59. *exstiterit* (*exstitit ?*) is as likely to be right here as anything else that has been made out of the MS. reading *est ita erit,* which must have resulted from the misinterpretation of compendia. Cp. 10, *ad fin.,* where the codd. have *ex his* for *exsistere.* In the text, *quae* = forma et consuetudo iudiciorum, not f. et c. *veterum* iudiciorum. To take *quae* as = *iudicia* would necessitate a change to *aptiora. Aptior* by itself is possible, but we should have expected *aptior causis agendis,* or something of the sort.

60. *maxima principis disciplina:* "the great imperial system." There is some discrepancy in the tradition here, the X family giving *maxima,* while Y has *maximi*: Halm and other editors adopt Haase's emendation *maxime.* I take *maxima* to be a complimentary epithet of the "disciplina" or "administrative faculty" of the emperor.—Editors ought here to have made a reference to the frequent instances of altars with the inscription "Disciplinae Augusti":

the same inscription occurs also on the reverse of several of the coins of Hadrian.

61. *omnia alia pacaverat.* This is the reading of the Y family (*alia omnia* E) against *omnia depacaverat* X. The supposition is that after the first *a* of *alia* (a^a) had become merged in the preceding *omnia,* the reading *apacaverat* would result, and would be speedily changed into *depacaverat.* At the same time it must be admitted that the recurrence of *al* is always suspicious, suggesting as it does a various reading: cp. 6, *ad fin.,* and 7, 11. The point of the remark about eloquence having been "reduced to quietude" is that it was only when political passions had subsided that an orator of standing like Pollio could afford to interest himself in a private case.

62. I have bracketed *probationibus et testibus* in the belief that these words may be a gloss which has come in from the margin: thereafter *patronis* may easily have been changed to *patronus,* which is the reading of the codd. John, on the other hand, retains these words, and accepts Weissenborn's conjecture *importunus* for *patronus,* just as Halm incorporated in his text Haupt's *inpatiens.*

63. The question of whether a second lacuna must be assumed after *faces admovebant,* especially in the light of the new MS. evidence adduced by Gudeman, is discussed in the Introduction, p. 10: see also *Am. Journ. Phil.,* January–April 1913, p. 4 *sqq.*

64. *reverentia* is my conjecture for the MS. *servitute,* Others have suggested *veritate, virtute, severitate* ("moral earnestness").

65. *Quo modo, inquam.* As this sentence involves

a certain repetition, *inquam* may possibly be considered in place. The X family give *inde* and the Y *tamen*. Halm adopted *enim* from Heumann, while Michaelis reads *autem*.

66. *vitas vestras ac tempora*. This is Bekker's reading for the MS. *vitas ac vestra tempora*. Halm and John bracket *vestra*.

67. *omnibus antiquariis*. I base the reading *omnibus*, for *cum* of the MS. tradition, on 13, 17, where see note : cp. 2, 17, where, for *omni* $EV_2C\Delta$, *cum* is the reading of ABDH. Editors generally follow Weissenborn, who suggested *autem*.

AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA

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INTRODUCTION TO *AGRICOLA*

(A) *MSS.*

Only two manuscripts practically are in existence.

(1) A copy made late in the fifteenth century between 1450–1499 by Pomponius Laetus, and now in the Vatican Library, No. 3429, known as Γ^1 to Furneaux: Laetus made it in order to bind it up with his copy of the first edition of Tacitus (published without the *Agricola*), and so complete for himself that edition. This *editio princeps* was printed in Venice in 1470.

Further, Laetus added notes and conjectures, his own and others', and marginal and interlinear corrections: Furneaux marks the former Γ^m and the interlinear corrections Γ^2.

Of the marginal corrections, the most brilliant—indispensable no less than brilliant—is in ch. 45, where the MSS. read "*nos Maurici Rusticique visus: nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit*." For this outrageous and intolerable zeugma Laetus substitutes "*nos Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus: nos*," &c.; it is not clear whether as a conjecture of his own or others, or as a correction already existing in his MS.

(2) Another late copy of same date, now in the Vatican Library, No. 4498, and known as Δ. This is a copy differing in spelling from Γ, but probably from the same archetype, since it shows the same corrupt and more or less unintelligible passages.

(3) There exists also, says Professor Gudeman, a third MS. at Toledo, only recently discovered by Professor R. Wuensch, and quoted by him as T and Toletana; but it remained, even after discovery, largely inaccessible, and very little seems to be known of it; its date is said to be between 1471–1474. Professor Gudeman publishes in his German edition many of its readings, but their difference from Γ and Δ, so far as I have noted, do not appear to possess significance.

Other Sources

(4) The first printed edition of Tacitus to include the *Agricola* is by Puteolanus, without date or title, but probably about ten years later than that *editio princeps* without the *Agricola* to which we owe Laetus' MS. It was printed at Milan in 1475; a second edition came out in 1497 at Venice (Philip Pinci).

This edition was probably a careless copy from the same archetype as Γ and Δ, and with no independent value; in any case it is less useful than Γ and Δ.

(5) Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600), who was librarian to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and who came into the possession of Laetus' MS. (Γ) and presented it to the Vatican Library, also published some notes to the *Agricola*, in which he cites from "v c," *i.e.* vetus codex: this vetus codex *may* be an authority independent of Γ, and there is this evidence for its independence: that his quotations from it do not distinguish its marginal or interlinear readings from its text, whereas in Γ they are distinguished. Unfortunately Orsini when he cites "v c" is not always beyond suspicion: he cites "v c" for Ciceronian works, and Cicero's editors suspect his "ancient manuscript" to be drawn from the phantasmal tablets

of the imagination, not earlier than 1529–1600 : however, *prima facie*, his citations from this source for the *Agricola* are likely to be *bona-fide*, since references to the same authority for the *Annals* have been verified.

Assuming his citations to be both genuine and independent of Γ, there is no further deduction to be made from their value, such as it is ; but intrinsically it is not great: there is nothing in them to affect our main reliance on Γ.

It is curious that it is only since 1852 (the edition of Wex) that Γ and Δ have been used to establish the text, so far as it can be established. Editors before that time simply used the *editio princeps* of Puteolanus, with or without the corrections of their own ingenuity.

It follows from all this, the two MSS. being so much alike and showing the same corruptions, that the *Agricola* is a happy hunting-ground for the textual emendator.

For further details of the MSS., especially for particulars of the sixteen pages of the original MS. of Enoch of Ascoli (see Introduction to *Germania*, p. 255), rediscovered recently, I must refer to my learned colleague Principal William Peterson, from whom my own acquaintance with the find is derived, and to whom such research is a congenial field (see pp. 3-5).

(B) *Date*

Tacitus probably wrote the *Agricola* between October A.D. 97 and January 27, A.D. 98 : *i.e.* during the time when Nerva was still alive, but had already shared his power with his heir Trajan (ch. 3, ch. 45).

From the latter chapter it would appear that in any case he did not publish it till after Trajan's accession : *i.e.* till the year 98 A.D. It is in all proba-

bility his maiden work as a biographer and historian or historical essayist, and precedes the *Germania* by a few months.

(c) *Purpose*

There has, perhaps, been an unnecessary amount of doubt and discussion about its purpose: (1) it has even been supposed to be French, so to speak, not merely in its style (and no one will deny that its tone suggests a French essayist and that it passes most naturally, if translated, into French) but also in its occasion and object; that is, it has been taken to be an *éloge* written for the funeral of its hero, though Tacitus, being absent from Rome, could not actually have so delivered it. Such funeral orations were usual in ancient Rome, whence they have descended with many other customs and traits of character to modern France.

But it is too long and too full of extraneous matter obviously for such a purpose only.

(2) It has been taken to be a political pamphlet written to justify Agricola's "quietism" under Domitian and his "animated moderation" (ch. 42) against the intransigeance of the Stoic martyrs and rebels: in this case it must also be an apologia for Tacitus himself ["*mox* nostrae *duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus*, nos *Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus*: nos *innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit*" (ch. 45)].

(3) It is much more simply and naturally regarded as a *ballon d'essai*, as an introduction to and excerpt from his own *Histories*, which he was already composing, with biographical details added such as were too trivial and too unimportant for a general History of Rome, but which were quite in place when gathered round the person of its hero, Agricola.

(D) *Value*

The value of the *Agricola* hardly lies on the surface. It has necessarily had something of the same interest for Englishmen and Scotchmen which the *Germania* has for Germany. Yet we do not owe much directly to Tacitus: not only was he—as Mommsen has complained—the most unmilitary of historians, so that none of his battles are intelligible, but his topography—our topography—is even more careless and perfunctory: many of his places are so named that they cannot be identified, but merely furnish matter for the controversies of archaeologists like Monkbarns, in *The Antiquary* (ch. 4).

Whether Agricola marched to the isthmus between the Clyde and Forth via the east coast of England and Scotland, or via Chester and Morecambe Bay and Carlisle, is left quite uncertain: his ideas of the geographical relations of England, Ireland, and the Continent, especially Spain, are extraordinarily grotesque (see chs. 10 and 24), and show no advance on the Greek geographer Strabo, a century earlier: he recognises no isthmus south of the Clyde and Forth; the Solway Firth, that is, is ignored; and Ireland lies for him between Britain and Spain (see the same two chapters): he knows more of trade-routes than of geography.

He is, in short, the rhetorician and humanist who hates maps—large or small—and geography: the biographical interest of the work entirely dominates the geographical, even the historical; the political possibly dominates the biographical.

It might be argued perhaps, however, that Irishmen have greater reason to bless Tacitus. He never makes it clear—he leaves it still open to doubt, even to those

who are purely scientific, and have no sentimental inclination to welcome doubt — whether Agricola, before the Sassenach, ever planted sacrilegious feet upon those sacred shores. The German scholar Pfitzner (see Furneaux, p. 45) thinks that Agricola landed near Belfast. Furneaux and others think that an event so important from any point of view could not have been so obscurely and perfunctorily hinted even by a Roman unqualified to appreciate its magnitude. Accordingly they think that the crucial words in ch. 24 refer only to a voyage across the Firth of Clyde to Bute and Argyllshire, and not across the North Channel to Ireland. This seems to me by far the safest and most natural translation. This list of Tacitus' geographical deficiencies could be easily extended: so far as Scotland, *e.g.*, is concerned, almost the only places to be identified are Bodotria and Clota, the Firths of Forth and Clyde. His other names—Mons Graupius, Portus Trucculensis, Boresti—remain mysteries.

(E) *The Physical Geographical and Military Science of the "Agricola"*

(1) *Physical Science* (Furneaux, note, p. 96). Tacitus' physics seem even more antiquated than his geography. The Greeks had discovered the spherical shape of this planet by the fourth century B.C. Romans like Cicero, Pliny, and Seneca had learned it from them; yet here is Tacitus (in ch. 12) apparently cleaving to the flat-earth heresy, and writing of the phenomenon of the midnight sun in words which imply no such knowledge and seem inconsistent therewith.

(2) *Geography.* Tacitus' geography of Britain—it has been said already—is identical with Strabo's, and

the hundred years between them have meant nothing to him—a measure of the superiority of Greek science over Roman. Its eccentricities are not fully illustrated by Mr. Furneaux in his map, and are a trifle minimised even by Professor Gudeman in the map prefixed to his German edition. The gist of it lies—as already noted—in chs. 10 and 24.

To examine the point a little more minutely: *oblongae scutulae* (ch. 10) is in any case hardly reconcilable with *bipenni*; but I assume (see note 2, p. 185) that *scutula*—in spite of the authorities—here means *scutulum*, that is, an oblong shield tapering to a quasi-point in the north, where Caledonia begins, *i.e.* at the isthmus of the Clyde and Forth. If Britain, so far, is an oblong shield, where does the bipennis, or double-axe, come in? Tacitus, in spite of his remarks about "ancient embroideries" and "his own plain tale of facts" (ch. 10), is not easy to follow.

But apparently his criticism of the double-axe theory amounts to this, that the further, or northern, axe (Caledonia) is rather an inverted than a normal axe; for its apex, instead of starting from the apex of the first axe, is at the northern extremity of Scotland; that is, a second axe follows the first in exactly the same position as the first, instead of inversely. The normal double-axe is two axes in inverse relation to each other, thus:

Caledonia

Britannia proper

But South Britain and Caledonia are instead two

axes identically repeating each other, in this form rather:

Besides, Tacitus' indifference to geography sometimes leads to obscurities for which this indifference is only indirectly responsible; that is to say, the ordinary ambiguities of language, which occur even in the most careful writers, produce an extra degree of obscurity in him, because there is no general accuracy and definiteness elsewhere by means of which we could correct them and fix the momentarily obscured meaning. Thus in ch. 38, at the end, the little word "*proximo*," for all its innocent appearance, is interpreted almost in terms of every point of the compass, as well as without reference to the compass; personally, I think the latter interpretation by far the most natural (see Appendix iv. p. 344, for a fuller discussion of details).

But, after all, Tacitus' lax geography perhaps deserves some measure of gratitude from us; it has helped to inspire Sir Walter Scott: it plays a part in *The Antiquary*. Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck thinks he has discovered on his own estate the scene of Agricola's battle, and that he can see from his own fields where the Roman fleet lay at anchor. His property is north of the Firths of Tay and Forth, in Forfarshire; but so vague is Tacitus that other antiquaries—not merely in Scotland but down to the southern extremity of England—may claim for their properties a remote historical connection with Agricola's battle.

The author of the article on *Portus Trucculensis* in Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography,* following Lipsius, boldly states that the name is a mistake of Tacitus', and that the harbour he means (*Agricola,* ch. 38) is Portus Rutupensis, or Sandwich, in Kent. If this theory be preposterous, it is not because Tacitus was incapable of murdering geographical names, but rather because the whole tenor of his narrative points to the wintering of the fleet in the north, beyond the Firth of Forth, not very far off from the scene of the battle.

There is one further point about this harbour of romance, *Portus Trucculensis,* on which I have not succeeded in finding light. *The Antiquary* (ch. 9) presents its hero claiming for his estate not merely that it was the site of Agricola's battle, but that it was also the site of the Abbey of Trot-cosey. Where did Scott get the name, and what is its significance? Its likeness to Trucculensis, though not very near, seems near enough to warrant the suggestion that the Abbey as well as the praetorium had its origin in some hazy memory of, or careless reference to, the *Agricola.* But if he *did* get the name, consciously or unconsciously, from the *Agricola,* he has, of course, slipped into an historical blunder. The *Agricola* makes it plain that the harbour, *Portus Trucculensis*—to which the fleet ultimately returned after the battle—and the site of the battle were some days' march distant from one another, the latter being further north; but the oversight would be venial in a novelist, and the story would gain in point; and Monkbarns' pride in his historic estate would be the more legitimate.

Tacitus, in short, is a good author for any one to exploit who desires to illustrate the weakness of an education in the humanities alone, without science;

his taste for ethics, satire, politics, and rhetoric reduces physics and physical geography for him to tedious irrelevancies not worth comprehension. The modern classical scholar who knows only Tacitus—if any such strange creature still lingers stranded somewhere in some oasis or ancient university—is at least as well-equipped as his master.

(3) *Military Science.* Tacitus' inaccuracies in physics and geography are paralleled—as might be expected—in his battle pictures. The battles of most historians, no doubt, are unintelligible to the layman often, not seldom to the writer himself, and almost always to the soldier; but the defeat of the British by Agricola (chs. 36 and 37) exceeds the measure of obscurity usually found in these very technical matters. Much of it, as the notes of the commentators show, seems to be bodily lifted from Sallust, his historical model, rather than learned from Agricola.

Further, whether as a cause or consequence of Tacitus' military vagueness, the text itself here breaks down; and I do not for a moment profess that the translation offered represents what Tacitus intended to represent. I have confined myself to taking the text and the various reconstructions of it, and attempting to evolve a single consistent and conceivable picture.

(F) *On translating Tacitus*

The difficulties of a translator of Tacitus are not few:

Tacitus condenses to a degree so great that a literal English translation in the same number of words is almost unintelligible; and his condensations not merely obscure but sometimes distort his meaning.

A smaller perhaps, but a more interesting, difficulty

lies in the mannerisms of the author. The problem arises at once: Is a translator to reproduce the mannerisms? *E.g.* ch. 13 (also 12, 21, and many others) ends in an epigram, for the sake of which—the suspicion will arise—the chapter was written: or, more reasonably, by means of which its dullness was to the writer's mind redeemed: "*fiat epigramma pereant res*" is Tacitus' impulse. Is not the translator then bound, whenever such an epigram admits, as here, alternative renderings, to choose that one which is most French and most epigrammatic? I have assumed as much.

A further mannerism is an old classical idiom extended: Tacitus is sometimes not content with hendiadys, but substitutes a variety of his own: or hendiatris ἓν διὰ τριῶν. In ch. 18 the difficult words *qui classem qui naves qui mare exspectabant* seem simply to mean "who expected fleets of ships upon the sea": it is an ingenious and stimulating variation of an old tune.

Ch. 22 ends with a mannerism and rhetorical device not so difficult to follow: "alliteration's artful aid." Tacitus is prone to tickle the ears of Romans with it: as a simple and cheap device it is easy of imitation: *offendere quam odisse* (ch. 22) passes naturally and smoothly into "to hurt than to hate." Ch. 42 has a more interesting example: Tacitus wishes to say that "Agricola made no fatuous parade of independence to challenge public attention and provoke his doom": he prefers to express the idea by means of alliteration and zeugma combined: *neque inani iactatione libertatis* famam fatumque *provocabat.*

In short, to sum up not merely the mannerisms of Tacitus, but also the salient characteristics of this book, the *Agricola* is largely a piece of rhetoric,

brilliant with purple passages, with sarcasm and epigram, with verbal quips and cranks.

If I confess that I selected it for translation for these passages' sake, for the sake of chs. 45 and 46 or chs. 30 and 32, I hasten to add in self-defence that I conceive Tacitus to have written it largely for the same chapters' sake.

But, after all, the book has the same interest as the diary of a British subaltern, or commanding officer, quartered at Loralai or some similar place on the Beloochistan frontier. The parallelism between Roman provincial government and the British administration of India, always so vivid and so poignant, runs through the *Agricola*, and is as fresh and real in this biography of a shrewd and sterling Roman officer as in the biography of a Nicholson or a Lawrence.

There is, finally, a general picturesqueness and certain phosphorescence, so to speak, in all Tacitus writes, as on some nights there is a general phosphorescence on the Lower St. Lawrence; but the writing becomes much more brilliant when the writer is traversing a congenial theme, even as the phosphorescence on the river is tenfold around the path of an ocean liner. Perhaps it may occur to some readers that the treatment by Tacitus of a congenial theme is not unlike—in some other respects—the transit of a liner through phosphorescence: there is brilliance everywhere and blare and the band is playing, but in the background lurk sinister forms and the masked figure of Tragedy.

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The text on which this translation is based in almost every case where it deviates from the Teubner text of Halm.

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TRANSLATIONS

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I learned early not to look at this version beforehand, and when I looked at it to repent of my own. I may say something of the same sort, if not so emphatically, of the better known but less vivid translation of Church and Brodribb.

Finally, I regret that when I made this translation I had not yet seen the vigorous version of Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, my "consocius" of Merton College.

BOOKS OF GENERAL REFERENCE

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF TACITUS

See Professor Gudeman's Edition

A.D. 54 *circa*.		Birth: his father was probably an Imperial Agent in Belgium and of equestrian rank.
73	„	Pupil of Quintilian.
74–75	„	Studied law under Aper and Secundus.
77–78	„	Married Agricola's daughter.
79–81	„	Published the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*; became quaestor.
88		Became praetor.
89–93		Absent from Rome, probably as propraetor (or governor) of a minor province.
97		Consul.
98		Publication of the *Agricola* and *Germania*.
100		Accused Marius Priscus, a noted informer.
105–109		Publication of the *Histories*.
112		Proconsul of Asia.
116		Publication of *Annals*.
117		Death.

CHRONOLOGY OF BRITAIN

B.C. 55 (*see* p. 193). Invaded by Julius Caesar, and introduced by him to Roman history (ch. 13).

54. Invaded a second time by Caesar.

B.C. 50–A.D. 37. Overlooked by Rome during civil wars and the cautious administration of Augustus and Tiberius (ch. 13).

A.D. 40. Caligula plans invasion, but draws back (ch. 13).

43. Claudius sends Vespasian with an army into the island and conquers it (ch. 13).

43–47. Governed by Aulus Plautius: the southern part of the island begins to take shape as a Roman province (ch. 14); a Roman colony planted at Colchester.

47–52. Governed by Ostorius Scapula (ch. 14).

52–58. Governed by Didius Gallus, who pushes the Roman frontier a little farther northwards (ch. 14).

58. Governed by Veranius for a few months (ch. 14).

59–62. Governed by Suetonius Paulinus and so far reduced to order that the Roman governor crosses over to Mona (Anglesey) to crush the remains of disaffection (ch. 14).

61. The natives, taking advantage of Paulinus' absence, rise under Boadicea and burn Colchester, but are immediately defeated and reduced: Agricola sees his first service in the Roman army (chs. 5 and 16).

A.D. 62. Petronius Turpilianus succeeds Paulinus and introduces a milder policy (ch. 16).

65. Petronius hands over the government to Trebellius Maximus, who continues the indulgent system of government of his predecessor: Roman civilisation and Roman vices begin to spread among the natives (ch. 16).

69. Governed by Vettius Bolanus (chs. 7 and 16) with similar laxity. Agricola serves under him in charge of the Twentieth Legion.

71–75. Governed by Petilius Cerialis with great vigour and success: he invades the territory of the Brigantes (Lancashire and north-western counties of England) and reduces the greater part of their land (chs. 8 and 17).

75–77. Governed by Julius Frontinus with equal energy: he conquers South Wales, the territory of the Silures (ch. 17).

78–85. Governed by Agricola: battle of Mount Graupius, by which the southern part of Caledonia (Scotland north of the Firths of Clyde and Forth) is conquered and the Roman province carried beyond the block-houses of the isthmus between Clota and Bodotria. The Roman fleet also sails round the north coast of Scotland, discovers the Orkney and Shetland Isles, and proves the insularity of Britain. Three ships of deserters, belonging to the Usipi in Germany, breaking loose from the Roman fleet, also circumnavigate Britain in their wanderings (chs. 28 and 36–38).

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA

See Professor Gudeman's Edition

A.D. 40. Birth: his father was a Roman Senator of Gallic origin, the grandfather having been an Imperial Agent and an eques. His maternal grandfather was also an Imperial Agent of the same rank in the same place.

58. First service in Britain (ch. 5).

61. Marriage (ch. 6).

63. Quaestorship; birth and death of son (ch. 6).

64. Birth of daughter (ch. 6).

66. Tribunate.

67. Praetorship.

69. Murder of his mother in the Year of Terror. Command of a legion (the 20th) in Britain (ch. 7).

73. Patriciate (ch. 9).

74–76. Propraetor of Aquitaine (ch. 9).

77. Consulate (ch. 9).

77–78. Appointment to governorship of Britain (ch. 9).

80. Agricola advances as far as the estuary of the Tanaus (ch. 22).

81. Agricola establishes Roman rule from the Clyde to the Forth (Clota to Bodotria) by block-houses across the peninsula (ch. 23).

82. Agricola threatens Ireland (ch. 24).

83. Agricola advances from the peninsula northwards into Caledonia (ch. 25).

84. Death of son; battle of Mount Graupius (ch. 29–ch. 39).

85. Recall to Rome (ch. 40).

91. Declines proconsular province (ch. 42).

93. Death (ch. 43).

AGRICOLA

P. CORNELII TACITI
DE VITA ET MORIBVS
IVLII AGRICOLAE

LIBER

1 Clarorvm virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. sed apud priores ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem

P. CORNELIUS TACITUS
THE LIFE OF JULIUS AGRICOLA

To hand down to posterity the works and ways of famous men was our fathers' custom: our age has not yet abandoned it even now, indifferent though it be to its own children, whenever, at least, some great and notable virtue has dominated and overpowered the vice common alike to small states and great—misapprehension of integrity and jealousy.

But in our fathers' times, just as the doing of deeds worth recording was natural and more obvious, so also there was inducement then to the brightest spirits to publish such records of virtue. Partisanship was not the motive or ambition: a good conscience was its own reward; nay, many men even counted it not presumption, but self-respect, to narrate their own lives. A Rutilius, a Scaurus, could do so without falling short of belief [1] or provoking a

[1] This is the Latin idiom; but the meaning would be conveyed more naturally to our idiom by the converse metaphor "without overdrawing his credit": *ultra fidem* instead of *citra*.

temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. at nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusaturus, tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

2 Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Senecioni Herennio [1] Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

3 Nunc demum redit animus; set quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res

[1] Herennio Senecioni, *MSS.*, *F.*, *H.* *Vide* Appendix I.

sneer; so true is it that virtues are best appreciated in those ages which most readily give them birth; but to-day, even though the man whose life I am about to write is already gone, I ought to have craved an indulgence which I should not have needed, had invective been my purpose; so harsh is the spirit of our age, so cynical towards virtue.

It is recorded that when Rusticus Arulenus [1] extolled Thrasea Paetus, when Herennius Senecio extolled Helvidius Priscus, their praise became a capital offence, so that persecution fell not merely on the authors themselves but on the very books: to the public hangman, in fact, was given the task of burning in the courtyard of the Forum the memorials of our noblest characters.

They imagined, no doubt, that in those flames disappeared the voice of the people, the liberty of the Senate, the conscience of mankind; especially as the votaries of Philosophy also were expelled, and all liberal culture exiled, in order that nowhere might anything of good report present itself to men's eyes.

Assuredly we have furnished a signal proof of our submissiveness; and even as former generations witnessed the utmost excesses of liberty, so have we the extremes of slavery; wherein our "Inquisitors" [2] have deprived us even of the give and take of conversation. We should have lost memory itself as well as voice, had forgetfulness been as easy as silence.

Now at last heart is coming back to us: from the first, from the very outset of this happy age, Nerva

[1] Tacitus transposes the *praenomen* (or *nomen*) and the *cognomen* in these cases, as also in ch. 45; *vide* Appendix I. p. 335.

[2] The *delatores*, informers, who reported to Domitian all slighting references real or imagined.

olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris : subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

4 Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Forouliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. pater

has united things long incompatible, Empire and liberty; Trajan is increasing daily the happiness of the times; and public confidence has not merely learned to hope and pray, but has received security for the fulfilment of its prayers and even the substance thereof. Though it is true that from the nature of human frailty cure operates more slowly than disease, and as the body itself is slow to grow and quick to decay, so also it is easier to damp men's spirits and their enthusiasm than to revive them: nay, listlessness itself has a certain subtle charm, and the languor we hate at first we learn to love: what else were possible? For the term of fifteen years, a large space in human life, chance and change have been cutting off many among us; others, and the most energetic, have perished by the Emperor's ferocity; while the few who remain have outlived not merely their neighbours but, so to say, themselves; for out of their prime have been blotted fifteen years, during which mature men reached old age and old men the very bounds almost of decrepitude, and all without opening their lips.

But after all I shall not regret the task of recording our former slavery and testifying to our present blessings, albeit with unpractised and stammering tongue. As an instalment of that work [1] this book is dedicated to the vindication of my father-in-law Agricola: its plea of filial duty will commend or, at least, excuse it.

Gnaeus Julius Agricola was a scion of the ancient and illustrious Roman colony of Forum Julii: each of his grandfathers was "Procurator of Caesar," an

[1] The *Agricola* is not merely the work of Tacitus' prentice hand, but is also an instalment towards his *Histories* and *Annals*.

illi Iulius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit. arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coërcuisset. scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

5 Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt,

office which involves the superior order of knighthood. His father, Julius Graecinus, reached the rank of Senator and was noted for his interest in rhetoric and philosophy : the same virtues earned for him the hatred of Gaius Caesar ; in fact, he received orders to accuse Marcus Silanus, and, refusing, was put to death. His mother was Julia Procilla, a woman of rare virtue. From her fond bosom he imbibed his education : his boyhood and youth he passed in the pursuit of all liberal accomplishments; he was shielded from the snares of sinners not merely by his own loyal and upright nature but because from the outset of his childhood the habitation and the *alma mater* of his studies was Massilia, a blend and happy combination of Greek refinement and provincial simplicity. I remember how he used himself to tell that in early life he was inclined to drink more deeply of philosophy than is permitted to a Roman Senator,[1] had not his mother's discretion imposed a check upon his enkindled and glowing imagination : no doubt his soaring and ambitious temper craved the pomp and circumstance of high and exalted ideals with more ardour than prudence. Soon came reason and years to cool his blood : he achieved the rarest of feats ; he was a student, yet preserved his balance.

His apprenticeship to war was in Britain, where he commended himself to Suetonius Paulinus, a careful and sound general, being, in fact, selected by him for the test involved in the sharing of military quarters. Agricola was neither casual, after the manner of young men who turn soldiering into foolishness, nor yet

[1] The Roman noble was not wholly unworthy of those later aristocrats of whom their leader said : "They speak but one language, and never open a book."

neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare simulque et anxius et intentus agere. non sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

6 Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in vicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, pro consule Salvium Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata

indolent. He did not trade upon his tribune's commission and his inexperience to get pleasures and furloughs; rather he proceeded to know the province, and to make himself known to the army, to learn from the experts, to follow the best men, to aspire to nothing in bravado, yet to shrink from nothing in fear, to behave as one at once anxious and yet eager. Certainly at no time was Britain more agitated, nor its fate more critical: veterans were butchered, Roman colonies burned,[1] armies cut off from their base; one day men fought for their lives and on the next day for triumph—all of which things, though the strategy and generalship which handled them were another's, and though the supreme glory o achievement and of recovering the province fell to the general, yet furnished science, experience, and incentives to the subaltern. There entered his heart a desire for that military distinction which was unwelcome to an age which cast an evil eye over eminence, wherein good report was as perilous as bad.

From this field he passed on to the city to take up office; there also he married Domitia Decidiana, a woman of high lineage. The marriage proved at once a distinction and a strength to him in his upward path; their life was singularly harmonious, thanks to mutual affection and alternate self-sacrifice; though, indeed, a good wife has the greater glory in proportion as a bad wife is the more to blame.

The allotment of quaestorships brought him Asia for his province, and Salvius Titianus for his proconsul; neither corrupted him; yet the province was

1 Probably *Camulodunum* (Colchester) is meant. Other colonies existing at this time, or not long after, were *Glevum* (Gloucester), *Lindum* (Lincoln), and *Eboracum* (York).

peccantibus, et pro consule in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solacium ; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. idem praeturae tenor et silentium ; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda diligentissima conquisitione effecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.

7 Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque eius adflixit. nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est. initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. is

[1] *Sublatum* is technical. The father by taking up the newborn child acknowledges it as his own.

rich and an easy prey to the unscrupulous, and the proconsul, ready for every kind of rapacity, was prepared to show any and every indulgence in order to purchase mutual silence about wrongdoing. Here his family was increased by a daughter, to his advantage at once and his consolation, for the son he had already carried in his arms he had soon lost.[1]

After this he passed in quiet and retirement the year intervening before his tribunate of the plebs, and not less the actual year of office. He read aright the reign of Nero, wherein to be passive was to be wise. His praetorship followed the same peaceful tenor; in fact, no administrative duties had fallen to his lot. As for the official games and the other vanities of office, in keeping them he kept a mean between cold reason and lavishness; on the one side he was far from extravagant, but at the same time fairly mindful of public opinion. Next, having been chosen by Galba to investigate the fate of gifts made to temples, his diligent inquiries brought it about that the state ceased at once to be conscious of having suffered from any second malefactor besides Nero.

The following year dealt a heavy blow to his peace of mind and to his home. For Otho's sailors, roaming at large with hostile intent, while gathering loot from Intimilium in Liguria, murdered Agricola's mother on her own estate, and plundered the estate itself and a large portion of his inheritance: whence the murder. Agricola, after starting to render the customary dues of filial affection, was overtaken by the news that Vespasian was in the field, and immediately passed over to his side.

The first steps of the new reign and the attitude of the city were directed by Mucianus, Domitian being still very young and snatching from his father's position

missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. ita successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

8 Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit: ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

9 Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae

only impunity to riot. Mucianus sent Agricola to levy soldiers, and when he had displayed both loyalty and energy he gave him the command of the Twentieth Legion, which had tardily transferred its allegiance. His predecessor, it was said, had been conducting himself mutinously. As a matter of fact, the legion had been too much even for consular governors, and had been a source of alarm; consequently, a mere regimental officer had no effective control. Whether this was due to his own or to his soldiers' character may be left open. Agricola accordingly was appointed to succeed and punish this officer; by his singular tact he made it appear that he had found the men loyal instead of making them so.

Vettius Bolanus was then in charge of Britain: his rule was milder than a high-spirited province requires. Agricola accordingly restrained his own energy and applied a check to his enthusiasm, in order that it might not grow too strong; he was trained to habits of deference, and skilful in tempering duty with expediency. A short time elapsed, and then Britain received Petilius Cerialis as its governor; and now Agricola's virtues found ample scope for display; but for the moment Cerialis gave him a share only of work and danger. Afterwards he shared distinction also: he often gave him a part of the army to command, to test him; sometimes on the strength of the issue he increased his forces; but Agricola never used his pride of achievement to his own credit. He traced his success to the responsible general whose agent he was: so by scrupulous obedience and modesty in self-advertisement he escaped envy without missing distinction.

When he returned from the command of his legion Vespasian of happy memory enrolled him a patrician,

Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae inprimis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat.

Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile iusteque agebat. iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis intentus severus, et saepius misericors: ubi officio satis factum, nulla ultra potestatis persona; tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat. nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre iniuria virtutum fuerit. ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. haud semper errat

and then placed him in charge of the province of Aquitania, a post of signal distinction both from the functions involved therein, and from the promise of the consulship to which it pointed.

The world imagines that the soldier lacks astuteness because he governs his camp with a light heart and a certain blunt high-handedness, and does not develop the cunning of the lawyer. Agricola, thanks to his native shrewdness, though surrounded with civilians, administered without friction, yet without sacrifice of justice. Further, the distinctions of office-hours and off-duty were carefully observed. When the decisions of the council-chamber demanded he was serious, keen, strict, yet generally merciful; when he had fulfilled the demands of office he dropped the official mask: reserve, pompousness, and greed he put away from him; and yet in his case, the rarest of cases, neither did amiability impair authority nor strictness affection. It would be an insult to the qualities of a man so great to dwell here upon his probity and self-control. Fame itself, which even good men often court, he never sought by parading his virtues or by artifice; incapable of rivalry among his colleagues, incapable of wrangling with the Imperial Agents, he counted it inglorious to succeed in such fields, and contemptible to let himself feel sore.

He was detained for less than three years in Aquitania to govern it, and was then recalled with the immediate prospect of the consulship. There accompanied his recall the rumour that Britain was being offered to him for his province, not because any word from him contributed thereto, but simply because he was judged competent. Rumour is not always wrong; sometimes it even chooses the winner.

fama ; aliquando et elegit. consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

10 Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est : ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur ; septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universam fama ; sed transgressis[1] inmensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore

[1] fama ; sed transgressis, *F.* ; fama est transgressa, sed, *H.*

The consul betrothed his daughter, already a girl of great promise, to me, then in my youth. On the conclusion of his office he placed her hand in mine, and immediately afterwards was gazetted to Britain, the priestly office of pontiff accompanying this promotion.

The geographical position of Britain and the races which inhabit it have been recorded by many writers: if I record them it is not to challenge comparison in the matter of accuracy or talent, but because it was Agricola who first thoroughly subdued it: accordingly, where earlier writers embroidered with rhetoric a theme still legendary, there will be found only a faithful narration of facts.

Britain is the largest island known to Romans: in the matter of site and aspect it faces Germany on the east, Spain on the west;[1] on the south it is actually within sight of Gaul; its northern shores alone have no lands confronting them, but are beaten by the wastes of open sea. Livy and Fabius Rusticus, the most graphic of ancient and modern writers respectively, have likened the shape of Britain as a whole to an oblong shield[2] or to a double-axe. This is in fact its shape up to the borders of Caledonia,[3] whence also this idea has been extended to the whole; but when you cross the border the land stretches out at once in boundless and vast extent from the actual neck, and only after-

[1] *Vide* Introduction, p. 155.

[2] *Scutula* is generally distinguished from *scutulum*, a shield, but its meaning is quite uncertain, and Tacitus' idea of Great Britain (up to the Clyde and Forth) comes sufficiently close to that of an oblong shield to let the translation pass for want of a better.

[3] Up to the isthmus of the Clyde and Forth.

terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum : et hiems adpetebat. sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere : unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

11 Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum compertum. habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant;

wards tapers into the tapering end of a wedge.[1] It was only under Agricola that the Roman fleet for the first time rounded this coast, the coast of the uttermost sea, and pronounced the insularity of Britain: by the same voyage it discovered the islands called Orcades, up to that time unknown, and conquered them. The shores of Thule even were descried, their instructions taking them only so far: besides, winter was approaching: however, they brought the report that the sea was sluggish and heavy to the oar and comparatively torpid even to the wind—I presume because land and mountain, the cause and occasion of storms, are fewer and further between, and because the deep mass of uninterrupted water is slower to be set in motion.[2] The character and tides of the ocean it is beyond the function of this work to investigate, and many have recorded them. I would add but a single word, that nowhere has the sea more potent influence: it gives to many of the rivers a tidal character; nor merely do the incoming tides wash the shores and ebb again, but penetrate the land deeply and invest it, and even steal into the heart of hills and mountains as though into their native element.

Be this as it may, what race of mortal birth inhabited Britain originally, whether native to the soil or later comers, is a question which, as one would expect among barbarous people, has never received attention. The physique of the people presents many varieties, whence inferences are drawn: the red hair and the large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia proclaim their German origin; the swarthy faces of

1 *Vide* Introduction, pp. 155–6.

2 *Vide Germania*, ch. 45, for a similar picture of northern seas.

Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt; proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit. in universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasiones[1]; sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

12 In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis distrahuntur. nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. caelum crebris

[1] persuasiones, *F.*; persuasione, *H.*

[a] The traces of Spanish blood in Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland have been often noticed by historians and sometimes ascribed to much later dates: even to the Armada, for instance.

the Silures, the curly quality, in general, of their hair, and the position of Spain opposite their shores, attest the passage of Iberians in old days and the occupation by them of these districts;[a] those peoples, again, who adjoin Gaul are also like Gauls, whether because the influence of heredity persists, or because when two lands converge till they face each other the climatic condition stamps a certain physique on the human body; but, taking a broad view of the case, we can readily believe that the Gauls took possession of the adjacent island. You will surprise there celebrations of Gallic ceremonies and faith in Gallic superstitions; the language is not very different; there is the same recklessness in courting danger, and, when it comes, the same anxiety to escape it; but the Britons display a higher spirit, not having been emasculated by long years of peace. The Gauls also, according to history, once shone in war: afterwards indolence made its appearance hand in hand with peace, and courage and liberty have been lost together. This has happened to such of the Britons as were conquered long ago: the rest remain what the Gauls once were.

Their strength lies in their infantry; but certain tribes also fight from chariots: the driver has the place of honour, the combatants are mere retainers. Originally the people were subject to kings: now they are distracted with parties and party spirit through the influence of chieftains; nor indeed have we any weapon against the stronger races more effective than this, that they have no common purpose: rarely will two or three states confer to repulse a common danger; accordingly they fight individually and are collectively conquered. The sky is overcast

imbribus ac nebulis foedum ; asperitas frigorum abest. dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram ; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfirmant. scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit.

Solum praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta patiens frugum, fecundum : tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt ; eademque utriusque rei causa, multus umor terrarum caelique. fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur ; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi : ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

13 Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint : has aegre tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam

with continual rain and cloud, but the cold is not severe. The duration of daylight is beyond the measure of our zone: the nights are clear and, in the distant parts of Britain, short, so that there is but a brief space separating the evening and the morning twilight. If there be no clouds to hinder, the sun's brilliance — they maintain — is visible throughout the night: it neither sets nor rises, but simply passes over. That is to say, the flat extremities of earth with their low shadows do not permit the darkness to mount high, and nightfall never reaches the sky or the stars.[1]

The soil, except for the olive and the vine and the other fruits usual in warmer lands, permits and is even prolific of crops: they ripen slowly, but are quick to sprout—in each case for the same reason, the abundant moisture of the soil and sky. Britain produces gold and silver and other metals: conquest is worth while. Their sea also produces pearls, but somewhat clouded and leaden-hued. Some people suppose that their pearl-fishers lack skill; in the Red Sea we are to imagine them torn alive and still breathing from the shell, while in Britain they are gathered only when thrown up on shore: for myself I could more readily believe that quality was lacking in the pearls than greed in Romans.

As for the people themselves, they discharge energetically the levies and tributes and imperial obligations imposed upon them, provided always there be no wrongdoing. They are restive under wrong: for their subjection, while complete enough to involve obedience, does not involve slavery. It was, in fact, Julius of happy memory who first of all Romans entered Britain with an army: he overawed

1 *Vide* Introduction, p. 154.

prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse ; mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace : consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum.

Agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit : domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

14 Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius : redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae ; addita insuper veteranorum colonia. quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis

the natives by a successful battle and made himself master of the coast; but it may be supposed that he rather discovered the island for his descendants than bequeathed it to them. Soon came the civil war, and the arms of Rome's chiefs were turned against the state, and there was a long forgetfulness of Britain, even after peace came. Augustus of happy memory called this "policy"; Tiberius called it "precedent."

That Gaius Caesar debated an invasion of Britain is well known; but his sensitiveness was quick to repent: besides, his vast designs against Germany had failed. Claudius of happy memory was responsible for renewing the task: legions and auxiliary troops were despatched across the Channel, and Vespasian was taken into partnership—the first step of the fame soon to come to him: tribes were conquered, kings captured, and Vespasian introduced to Destiny.[1]

The first consular governor to be placed in command of Britain was Aulus Plautius: soon after came Ostorius Scapula, both distinguished soldiers. The nearest portion of Britain was reduced little by little to the condition of a province: a colony of veterans was also planted: certain states were handed over to King Cogidumnus—he has remained continuously loyal down to our own times—according to the old and long-received principle of Roman policy, which employs kings among the instruments of servitude.

Next Didius Gallus maintained the ground gained by his predecessors, and pushed forward a few forts into remoter districts in order to extend his name and sphere of influence. Didius was followed by Veranius, who died within the year. Suetonius Paulinus after him had two successful years, reducing the tribes and

1 I prefer to take *fatis* here as a dative.

nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.

15 Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam. alterius manum centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. in proelio fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. quantulum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? sic Germanias excussisse iugum: et flumine, non Oceano defendi. sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. recessuros, ut divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur. neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus, maiorem [1] constantiam penes miseros esse. iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem

[1] plus impetus, maiorem, *F.*; plus impetus integris, maiorem, *H.*

strengthening the garrisons: presuming upon which success, he assailed the island of Mona, a rallying-point of rebellion, and so left his rear open to attack.

For with fear banished and the governor absent the Britons began to canvass the woes of servitude, to compare their wrongs and inflame their significance. Nothing is gained by submission, they argued, except that heavier commands are laid on willing sufferers: in the old days they had had a king apiece; now two kings apiece are foisted on them—a governor to riot in bloodshed, an Imperial Agent to work havoc on property. The dissensions or the unanimity of the twin rulers are equally fatal to their subjects: the myrmidons of the one ruler or the other, sergeants or slaves, deal violence alike and insult: nothing is beyond the reach of their avarice or their lust. On the battlefield it is the braver man who plunders his foe; but under present circumstances it is largely unwarlike cowards who are stealing their homes, abducting their children, demanding levies from them; as though they can die in any cause except their country's. The soldiers who have crossed the Channel are but a handful, if the Britons count their own numbers: this had the peoples of Germany done, and had shaken off the yoke, and yet *they* had only a river to defend them, not the ocean. They had their country to fight for, their wives, their parents: the enemy were fighting only for greed and riotous living; they would draw back, as Julius of happy memory had drawn back, if Britons would but emulate the valour of their fathers; nor should they be cowed by the issue of one or two battles: a fiercer fury, a higher constancy were the prerogatives of misery. At last Heaven itself was taking pity on Britain: it was keeping the Roman general at a

absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. porro in eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.

16 His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis, nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et proprius[1] ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera adroganter in deditos et ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor durius consuleret. missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit iustam segnitiae excusationem:

[1] proprius, *Rhenanus*; propius, *MSS.*

distance, and his army in the seclusion of another island: already on their side they had taken the step which was most difficult to take—they had opened the question for debate; and surely in such debates detection was more dangerous than daring.

Inspiring each other with these and similar arguments, the whole nation took up arms, under the command of Boadicea, a woman of the ruling house —they recognise no distinction of sex among their rulers—and after pursuing the soldiers scattered among the Roman forts and capturing the garrisons, they invaded the colony itself, as the local centre of servitude: no sort of barbarian cruelty was overlooked in the hour of victory and vengeance. Had not Paulinus learned of the stir in the province, and come hastily to the rescue, Britain would have been lost. The fortunes of a single battle restored it to its ancient submissiveness; for the most part only those remained under arms who were disquieted by a guilty sense of rebellion and a personal terror of the governor; they feared lest, for all his virtues, he should take high-handed measures against such as surrendered, and avenge harshly every wrong done as an individual wrong to himself.

Accordingly Petronius Turpilianus was sent to the province as less inflexible; a novice in handling the crimes of an enemy, he would be in proportion soft-hearted to their penitence. He arranged the outstanding difficulties, but, without venturing on any further action, handed over the province to Trebellius Maximus. Trebellius was less energetic, had no military experience, and kept the province in hand by a certain vigilant courtesy. Even the barbarians now learned to indulge pleasant vices, and the interruption

sed discordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem, et seditio sine sanguine stetit. nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina : eadem inertia erga hostis, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

17 Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam reciperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantium civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantium partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset : sustinuit molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

18 Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et

of civil war afforded a sound excuse for his inaction; but there was mutiny and trouble when the army, accustomed to the field, became riotous and idle. Trebellius, after eluding the violence of the soldiery by escaping to a hiding-place, soon regained, at the cost of shame and humiliation, a precarious authority. They arranged between them, so to speak, that the army should enjoy itself, but should spare its general's life; so the mutiny cost no blood.

Nor did Vettius Bolanus either, so long as the civil war continued, distress Britain with discipline; there was the same inaction in the field, the same rioting in camp, except that Bolanus, who was inoffensive and had done nothing to earn hatred, possessed the esteem, if not the obedience, of his men.

But when Britain with the rest of the world was recovered by Vespasian, generals became great, armies excellent, and the enemy's hopes languished. And Petilius Cerialis at once struck terror into their hearts by invading the commonwealth of the Brigantes, which is said to be the most numerous tribe of the whole province: many battles were fought, sometimes bloody battles, and by virtue of his victories or by dint of actual fighting he drew within his toils a large portion of the Brigantes.

Cerialis, indeed, would have eclipsed the vigilance or the credit of any other successor; but Julius Frontinus was a great man, and so far as was humanly possible sustained the burden cast on him: his arms reduced the Silures, a powerful and warlike race; he surmounted not only the valour of the enemy but also the physical difficulties of their land.

Such was the condition in Britain, such the alternations of war and peace which Agricola found when he crossed thither in the middle of summer. The

milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia. et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, *a* cuius possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. sed ut in subitis consiliis naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus quo simul

army was looking for an end of anxieties, campaigning being presumably over; the enemy for opportunity. The tribes of the Ordovices, shortly before his arrival, had crushed almost to a man the regiment of cavalry encamped among them; and this first stroke had excited the province. Those who wanted war were disposed to applaud the precedent, but on the other hand to wait and see the temper of the new governor.

As for Agricola, though the summer was over, though the different units were scattered through the province, though his soldiers had already laid aside service for that year—all factors of delay and hindrance if he was to begin fighting—and although the balance of opinion was in favour of merely watching suspicious movements, he decided to confront the danger. He gathered the detachments of the several legions and a moderate force of native auxiliaries, and then, when the Ordovices did not venture to descend from the hills, led his army to the uplands, himself marching in the van in order that the rest might find equal spirit for similar peril. He almost exterminated the whole tribe: then, recognising the necessity of confirming first impressions, knowing that he depended upon the issue of his first campaign to terrorise the enemy for the future, he determined to reduce the island of Mona, from the capture of which, as I have before recorded, Paulinus had been recalled by the general rebellion in Britain. His plans had been hastily formed and ships were not at hand; yet the resourcefulness and determination of the general bridged the straits. For after unloading all the baggage he picked a body of native auxiliaries who knew the fords, and had that facility in swimming which belongs to their nation, and by means of which they can control simul-

seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui navis, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus; ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

19 Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. a se suisque orsus primum domum suam coërcuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. omnia scire, non omnia

taneously their own movements, their weapons, and their horses: he then launched them upon the enemy so suddenly that the astonished islanders, who looked for fleets of ships upon the sea,[1] promptly came to the conclusion that nothing was hard and nothing invincible to men who fought in this fashion. Accordingly they petitioned for peace and surrendered the island; and Agricola began to be regarded as a brilliant and a great man.

At his entry into the province, at the time, that is, which others spend in advertisement and in a round of functions,[2] he had chosen hard work and peril; nor even now did he turn his success to boastfulness, or write about campaigns and victories, because he had held down a conquered people: he did not even follow up his achievement by affixing laurels to his despatches; yet his very deprecation of glory increased his glory for eyes which could divine how much the future must contain for one who made light of such a past.

Be that as it may, Agricola was heedful of the temper of the provincials, and took to heart the lesson which the experience of others suggested, that little was accomplished by force if injustice followed. He decided therefore to cut away at the root the causes of war. He began with himself and his own people: he put in order his own house, a task not less difficult for most governors than the government of a province. He transacted no public business through freedmen or slaves: he admitted no officer or private to his staff from private feeling, or private recommendation, or entreaty: he gave his confidence only to the best. He made it his business

1 *Vide* Introduction, p. 159.

2 Generally translated "in the courting of flattery," but——

exsequi. parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac † luere[1] pretio cogebantur. devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates proximis[2] hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret.

20 Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coërcere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur;

[1] luere, *Wex*; ludere, *MSS.*, *F.*, *H.*
[2] civitates proximis, *F.*; civitates pro proximis, *H.*

to know everything; if not, always, to follow up his knowledge: he turned an indulgent ear to small offences, yet was strict to offences that were serious: he was satisfied generally with penitence instead of punishment: to all offices and services he preferred to advance the men not likely to offend rather than to condemn them after offences.

Demands for grain and tribute he made less burdensome by equalising his imposts: he cut off every charge invented only as a means of plunder, and therefore more grievous to be borne than the tribute itself. As a matter of fact, the natives used to be compelled to go through the farce of dancing attendance at locked granaries, buying grain to be returned,[1] and so redeeming their obligations at a price: places off the road or distant districts were named in the governor's proclamations, so that the tribes with winter quarters close at hand delivered at a distance and across country, and ultimately a task easy for every one became a means of profit to a few.

By repressing these evils at once in his first year he cast a halo over such days of peace as the carelessness or harshness of previous governors had made not less dreadful than war. But when summer came he gathered his army and was constantly on the march, commending discipline, curbing stragglers: he chose himself the camping-ground: he was the first himself to explore estuaries and forests: meanwhile he gave the enemy no peace from the devastations of

1 *Ultro* = grain which they did not want and did not actually receive, but for which they paid, and then left it in the granary as part of their tribute to Rome: they could not even contribute their own grain for the purpose, because the places fixed for receiving it were selected for their inaccessibility.

atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis ostentare. quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae sunt[1] tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars *pariter* illacessita transierit.

21 Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. paulatimque descensum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

22 Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est)

[1] circumdatae sunt, *F.* ; circumdatae, *H.*

sudden raids: conversely by his clemency, after he had overawed them sufficiently, he paraded before them the attractions of peace. By these means many states which up to that time had dealt with Rome on even terms were induced to give hostages and abandon their hostility: they were then so carefully and skilfully surrounded with Roman garrisons and forts that no newly acquired district ever before passed over to Rome with so little interference from the neighbours.

The winter which followed was spent in the prosecution of sound measures. In order that a population scattered and uncivilised, and proportionately ready for war, might be habituated by comfort to peace and quiet, he would exhort individuals, assist communities, to erect temples, market-places, houses: he praised the energetic, rebuked the indolent, and the rivalry for his compliments took the place of coercion. Moreover he began to train the sons of the chieftains in a liberal education, and to give a preference to the native talents of the Briton as against the plodding Gaul. As a result, the nation which used to reject the Latin language began to aspire to rhetoric: further, the wearing of our dress became a distinction, and the toga came into fashion, and little by little the Britons were seduced into alluring vices: to the lounge, the bath, the well-appointed dinner table. The simple natives gave the name of "culture" to this factor of their slavery.

The third year of campaigning brought new tribes before the curtain: the natives were harried as far north as the estuary of the Tanaus.[1] Overawed by

[1] This cannot be identified: the Tay, the Forth, the Tweed, the North Tyne, and on the other side the Solway Firth and the Clyde, have been suggested.

nationibus. qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. ita intrepida ibi hiems, crebrae eruptiones et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur. nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, ut erat comis[1] bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

23 Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta; ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

[1] narrabatur ut erat comis, *F.*; narrabatur, et erat comis, *H.*

the terror thereof, the enemy did not venture to annoy our army, though it suffered from shocking weather: time was found also for the planting of forts. Experts noted that no other general selected more shrewdly the advantages of site: no fort planted by Agricola was carried by storm by the enemy, or abandoned by arrangement and flight: as for a protracted siege, against this they were secured by supplies for twelve months. Accordingly winter was shorn of its fears and sallies were frequent: each commander could protect himself, whilst the enemy were helpless and therefore despaired. They had been accustomed in most places to weigh the "incidents" of winter against the summer's losses; but now they were repelled summer and winter alike.

Yet Agricola was never grasping to embezzle the achievements of others: the other, whether regular officer or officer of irregulars, found in him an honest witness to his feats. Some there were who described him as too sharp-tongued in censure: as gracious to the worthy, but proportionately unpleasant to the undeserving. However it be, his anger left no secret sediment behind it, and no man had cause to fear his silence: he thought it more honourable to hurt than to hate.

The fourth summer was spent in securing the ground hastily traversed, and, if only the ardour of the army and the glory of Rome had allowed it, he would have found within the limits of Britain itself a frontier; for Clota and Bodotria, which stand far back on the tidal waters of opposite seas, are separated by but a narrow distance: this space was fortified during this summer by Roman garrisons, and the whole sweep of country to the south secured, the enemy being pushed back into a separate island, so to speak.

24 Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem usibus miscuerit. spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt: melius aditus[1] portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

[1] differunt: melius aditus, *Rhenanus, Bärhens*; differunt: in * * * melius aditus, *F.*; differunt: interiora parum, melius aditus, *H.*; differt: in melius: aditus, *MSS.*

In the fifth year of campaigning he crossed in the first ship to make the passage,[1] and in repeated and successful battles reduced tribes up to that time unknown: he also manned with troops that part of the British coast which faces Hibernia, with a forward policy in view rather than to avert danger—on the chance, that is, that Hibernia, which lies between Britain and Hispania and also commands the Gallic Sea, might unite, to their mutual advantage, the most effective portions of our Empire.[2]

That island, compared with Britain, is of smaller dimensions, but it is larger than the islands of our own sea.[3] In regard to soil, climate, and the character and ways of its inhabitants, it is not markedly different from Britain: we are better informed, thanks to the trade of merchants, about the approaches to the island and its harbours.[4]

Agricola had given shelter to one of the petty chieftains whom faction had driven from home, and under the cloak of friendship held him in reserve to be used as opportunity offered. I have often heard my father-in-law say that with one legion and a fair contingent of irregulars Hibernia could be overpowered and held, and that the feat would pay as against Britain also; for so Roman troops would be everywhere and liberty would sink, so to speak, below the horizon.

1 *I.e.* (probably) directly navigation opened in the spring. The Latin does not explain whether Agricola crossed the Clyde to Argyllshire, or whether he crossed to Ireland itself. The balance of evidence is against Ireland.

2 This can only mean Spain and Britain; but the description of them seems exaggerated, and the singular *valentissimam partem* is very strange.

3 The Mediterranean, *i.e.* generally, not merely the Tyrrhene Sea.

4 See Appendix II, p. 341.

25 Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostibus exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari iactantia compararentur.

Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus irrupturos. ac

[1] A.D. 83.

Be that as it may, in the summer in which he began his sixth year of office[1] he embraced in his operations the tribes beyond Bodotria: fearing a general movement on the part of all the tribes on the further side, and to guard against his army's march being beset with foes, he explored the harbours with his fleet. Agricola was the first to make it a factor in his resources, and its attendance added to the pomp and circumstance of his advance: the war was pushed by sea and land simultaneously, and often infantry, cavalry, and marines, gathering their exultant forces into a single camp, magnified their several feats, their several escapes: forest-depths and mountain-heights on the one side, the trials of tempests and of seas on the other; the conquest of the land and the foeman by these men, of the ocean by those—here were themes for comparison and for a soldier's boast.

The Britons, equally on their side, as was learned from prisoners, were amazed at the presence of the fleet: it seemed as though the secret places of their sea were being laid bare, and the last asylum barred against the vanquished.

The tribes of Caledonia hurried to take up arms: their forces were large and were reported larger, as happens usually when the enemy is unknown. They undertook, without waiting, to storm the Roman forts; the challenge made them formidable. Cowards wearing the mask of wisdom began to recommend that he retire south of Bodotria and leave the country rather than be put out of it. In the midst of all this he hears that the enemy are about to attack in several divisions: fearing to be surrounded, since they had the advantage both in numbers and in knowledge of the ground, he

ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partes exercitu incessit.

26 Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus irrupere. iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem ; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni ; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

27 Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant. atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est : prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. at Britanni non virtute *se*, sed occasione et arte ducis

divided his own army also into three parts and so advanced.

The enemy, learning this, suddenly changed their plans. They attacked by night with their combined forces the Ninth (and weakest) Legion : they cut down the pickets and burst in upon a scene of somnolent confusion. The fighting was in process in the very camp when Agricola, learning of the enemy's march from his scouts and following on their footsteps, launches the fleetest of his cavalry and infantry upon the flanks of the combatants, and backs them up with a shout along the whole line. Dawn was at hand, its gleam already on the Roman standards : the Britons were panic-stricken to find themselves between two evils, while the Romans regained their courage, and, no longer alarmed for their safety, fought for distinction ; they even sallied from the camp, and there was hot fighting in its narrow gateway ; until the enemy gave way before the efforts of the two Roman armies to prove, the one that they were rescuers, the other that they had not needed rescue. Had not the marshes and forests covered the fugitives that victory would have ended the war.

Flushed with this consciousness and with glory, the army began to cry that nothing could bar the way before its courage, that Caledonia must be penetrated, that the furthest shores of Britain must once for all be discovered in one continuous campaign. The men who were yesterday so cautious and prudent were now, after the event, ready and vainglorious. This is the unjustest feature of campaigning : every one claims victories ; reverses are attributed to one man only.

The Britons, on the other hand, conceiving that they had been vanquished, not in courage, but by the

victos rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

28 Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno regente,[1] suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum plerisque[2] Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. ac fuere quos per commercia venumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

[1] uno regente, *Döderlein* ; uno remigante, *F.* ; uno renavigante, *H.*

[2] mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum plerisque, *H.* ; mox ad aquam atque utilia raptis secum * * * cum plerisque, *F.*

general's opportune strategy, abated nothing of their arrogance ; but armed their youth, transferred their women and children to safe places, and formulated the confederacy of their tribes by conference and sacrifice. Accordingly the two armies separated with unrest in the mind of each.

During the same summer a battalion of Usipi, enrolled in Germany and sent across to Britain, perpetrated a signal and memorable crime. After murdering their centurions and such soldiers as had been distributed among their companies for the dissemination of military discipline, and who passed as models and instructors, they manned three galleys, violently coercing the helmsmen : with one man to steer them for the other two fell under suspicion and were put to death—they flaunted like a meteor past the fleet, before the news was abroad. Afterwards, disembarking for water and to forage for necessaries, they gave battle to various bodies of Britons defending their property, and after many victories and some defeats ultimately were reduced to such straits as to eat the weakest of their company, and after them the victims drawn by lot. In this fashion they circumnavigated Britain, and then lost the ships they could not steer. They were treated as pirates and captured, some by the Suebi, the remainder by the Frisii ; some of them also were sold in the way of trade, and so reached by exchange of purchasers our bank of the river, and gained notoriety by their commentaries on this eventful history.[1]

[1] See Appendix III, p. 342, and Introduction.

29 Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit: et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium pervenit, quem iam hostis insederat. nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium expectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. iamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

30 "Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem

In the beginning of the summer Agricola suffered a domestic blow: he lost the son born a year before. He took the loss neither with bravado, like most strong men, nor yet with the lamentations and mournings of a woman. Among other things, he turned for comfort to fighting. Accordingly he sent forward the fleet to make descents on various places, and to spread a general and vague panic; and then, with his army in light marching order, and strengthened by the best of the British soldiers—men tried through long years of peace—he advanced to Mount Graupius,[1] of which the enemy was already in occupation.

For the Britons, in no wise broken by the issue of the previous battle, and seeing before them vengeance or slavery, and learning at last that a common danger must be repelled by union, had brought into the field, by means of envoys and treaties, the flower of all their states. Already more than thirty thousand armed men were on view, and still the stream flowed in of all who were in their prime and of those whose age was still rude and green, famous warriors wearing their several decorations.

Pre-eminent by character and birth among the many chieftains was one named Calgacus. To the gathered host demanding battle he is reported to have spoken in the following strain:

"As often as I survey the causes of this war and our present straits, my heart beats high that this very day and this unity of ours will be the beginning

[1] The *editio princeps* of Puteoleanus reads *Grampius*, and thus suggests the Grampians; but the equivocation, strange though it be, appears to be accidental, the name "Grampians" not occurring elsewhere before the sixteenth century. No better clue exists, however.

consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore; nam et universi servitutis expertes et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum inminente nobis classe Romana. ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est: sed nunc terminus Britanniae patet, nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.

31 "Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur: coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus

of liberty for all Britain. We are all of us untouched yet by slavery: there is no other land behind us, and the very sea even is no longer free from alarms, now that the fleet of Rome threatens us. Battle therefore and arms, the strong man's pride, are also the coward's best safety. Former battles in which Rome was resisted left behind them hopes of help in us, because we, the noblest souls in all Britain, the dwellers in its inner shrine, had never seen the shores of slavery and had preserved our very eyes from the desecration and the contamination of tyranny: here at the world's end, on its last inch of liberty, we have lived unmolested to this day, in this sequestered nook of story; for the unknown is ever magnified.

"But to-day the uttermost parts of Britain are laid bare; there are no other tribes to come; nothing but sea and cliffs and these more deadly Romans, whose arrogance you shun in vain by obedience and self-restraint. Harriers of the world, now that earth fails their all-devastating hands, they probe even the sea: if their enemy have wealth, they have greed; if he be poor, they are ambitious; East nor West has glutted them; alone of mankind they behold with the same passion of concupiscence waste alike and want. To plunder, butcher, steal, these things they misname empire: they make a desolation and they call it peace.

"Children and kin are by the law of nature each man's dearest possessions; they are swept away from us by conscription to be slaves in other lands: our wives and sisters, even when they escape a soldier's lust, are debauched by self-styled friends and guests: our goods and chattels go for tribute; our lands and harvests in requisitions of grain; life and limb themselves are used up in levelling marsh and forest to

silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in paenitentiam[1] bellaturi,[2] primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.

32 "An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi

[1] paenitentiam, *F.*; patientiam, *H.*
[2] bellaturi, *H.*; † laturi, *F.*

the accompaniment of gibes and blows. Slaves born to slavery are sold once for all and are fed by their masters free of cost; but Britain pays a daily price for her own enslavement, and feeds the slavers; and as in the slave-gang the new-comer is a mockery even to his fellow-slaves, so in this world-wide, age-old slave-gang, we, the new hands, worth least, are marked out to be made away with: we have no lands or mines or harbours for the working of which we might be set aside.

"Further, courage and high spirit in their subjects displease our masters: our very distance and seclusion, in proportion as they save us, make us more suspected: therefore abandon all hope of pardon, and even at this late hour take courage, whether safety or glory be most prized. A woman could lead the Brigantes to burn a colony, to storm a camp; and had not their success lapsed into listlessness they might have thrown off the yoke; but *we* shall fight as men untamed, men who have never fallen from freedom, not as returning penitents: let us show them at the very first encounter what manner of men Caledonia holds in reserve for her cause in her far places.

"Or do you imagine that the Romans have as much courage in war as wantonness in peace? It is our dissensions and feuds that bring them fame: their enemy's mistake becomes their army's glory. That army, gathered from races widely separate, is held together only by success, and will melt away with defeat: unless you suppose that Gauls and Germans, and even—to their shame be it spoken—many of the tribes of Britain, who lend their blood to an alien

alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis. metus ac terror sunt infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circum spectantes, clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat. in ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus. adgnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tam quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. nec quicquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et iniuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate."

33 Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu frenituque et clamoribus dissonis. iamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam

tyranny, of which they have been enemies for more years than slaves, are attached to Rome by loyalty and liking. Fear and panic are sorry bonds of love: put these away, and they who have ceased to fear will begin to hate. Every spur to victory makes for *our* victory: there are no wives to inspire the Romans, no parents to reproach the runaway: most of them have no country or another land than this. Few in numbers, uneasy in their novel quarters, all that they see around them, the very sky and sea, strange to their eyes—the gods have delivered them into our hands as though they were caged prisoners. The empty terrors of the eye, the gleam of gold and silver, have neither help in them nor hurt. In the enemy's own battle-line we shall find hands to help us: the Britons will recognise that our cause is theirs: the Gauls will remember their former freedom: the rest of the Germans will desert them, as the Usipi deserted recently; and beyond these there is nothing to fear: empty forts, plantations of veterans, and settlements of low vitality and divided will, made up of ill-affected subjects and unjust rulers. Here you have a general and an army; on the other side lies tribute, labour in the mines, and all the other pangs of slavery. You have it in your power to perpetuate your sufferings for ever or to avenge them to-day upon this field: therefore, before you go into action, think upon your ancestors and upon your children."

They received his speech excitedly, after the manner of barbarians, with singing and shouting and uproar of various kinds: then followed the marshalling of hosts and the glitter of arms, as the bravest came to the front. No sooner was the line of battle in process of formation than Agricola, thinking that his soldiery, though exultant and with

laetum et vix munimentis coërcitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit :

" Septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute vestra, auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra Britanniam vicistis. tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostis seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit. ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus : inventa Britannia et subacta. equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam : 'quando dabitur hostis, quando acies ?' veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus atque eadem victis adversa. nam ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt ; neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia. quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac

difficulty held in leash behind their fortifications, ought to receive yet further inspiration, spoke as follows:

"This is the seventh year, fellow-soldiers, since first your courage, Rome's star, and my care and zeal have been victorious in Britain. In all these campaigns and on these battlefields, whether resolution was required against the enemy or patience and hard work against Nature herself, I have had nothing to regret in my soldiers, or you in your general. Accordingly we have out-distanced, I previous governors, you previous armies: to-day our knowledge of Britain's boundaries rests not on hearsay and report, but on armed occupation: we have both discovered and subdued Britain.

"Often on the march, when swamp, mountain, and river were a weariness, I overheard the exclamations of your bravest, 'When will the enemy be delivered into our hands? When will the battle be?' They are coming: they have been dragged from their coverts; there is nothing now to bar your prayers and prowess. Victory! and the stream is with you. Defeat! and difficulties are everywhere. To have covered so much ground, to have passed the forests, to have forded the estuaries, is honour and glory to an army advancing; but our successes of to-day become the worst of perils in retreat: we have not the same knowledge of locality, we have not the same abundance of supplies; we have but our hands and swords, and therein we have everything. As for myself, I have long ago reached the conviction that retreat is fatal both to army and to general: therefore not only is honourable death always better than life dishonoured, but in our special case safety and honour lie along the same road; nor would it be

decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.

34 "Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. hi sunt, quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis aggressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tam diu superstites. quo modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et extremus metus corpora defixere in his[1] vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi."

35 Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur. legiones pro vallo stetere,

[1] extremus metus corpora defixere in his, *F.*; extremo metu torpor defixere aciem in his, *H.*

inglorious to fall at the world's edge and Nature's end.

"If it were unknown tribes and a novel battle-line that confronted you, I would encourage you with the precedents of other armies: as it is, you have only to rehearse your own achievements and question your own eyes. These are the men who last year under cover of night attacked a single legion and were beaten by a shout: these are the most fugitive of the other tribes of Britain, for which reason they have survived so long. When you pierced the thickets and glens, the bravest beasts used to rush to meet you; the timid and spiritless were dislodged by the mere stir of your march. Even so the keenest of the Britons have long since fallen; there is left only the flock of cowards and shirkers. That you have found them at last is not because they have turned; they have been overtaken: desperation and supreme panic have paralysed them here in their lines, for you to win a glorious and spectacular victory. Make an end here of your campaignings: crown fifty years' work with a day of glory: prove to the state that the army has never been to blame if the war has dragged and has given to rebels their opportunity."

Even while Agricola was still speaking the enthusiasm of his men gave voice, and the close of his speech was followed by wild excitement, and they broke up at once to take their place for battle.

He drew up his enraptured and straining lines so that the detachments of provincial infantry, which amounted to eight thousand men, made a strong centre, while the three thousand cavalry circled round the wings; the Roman legionaries themselves were

ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti,[1] et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per adclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

36 Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus; nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus,

[1] bellanti, *H.*; bellandi, *F.*

posted in front of the palisade, to be a signal distinction for the conqueror if he fought without expending Roman blood, and a reinforcement if the others were repelled.

The British line, in order to be at once impressive and alarming, was drawn up on higher ground, in such a way that the front rank was on the level, while the rest, on a gentle slope, seemed to be towering higher and higher; the war-chariots, noisily manœuvring, filled the intervening plain.

Then, because the enemy's numbers were superior, Agricola, fearing to be assailed simultaneously in front and on the flanks, opened out his ranks, although his line was bound to become thereby too long proportionately, and most of his staff warned him to call up the legions; but he was more sanguine than they and deaf to all prophecies of ill; he sent away his horse and took up his position on foot in front of the provincials.

The battle began with fighting at long range; the Britons, with their long swords and short targets, showed courage alike and skill in evading or brushing aside the Roman missiles, while on their own side they launched dense volleys of spears; until Agricola exhorted the two battalions of Batavi and Tungri to bring things to the sword's point and to hand-to-hand fighting; a manœuvre familiar to them from long service and embarrassing to the enemy, whose shields were short and swords too long; for the British swords, without points, did not admit of locked lines and fighting at close quarters. Accordingly when the Batavi began to exchange blows hand to hand, to strike with the bosses of their shields, to stab in the face, and, after cutting down the enemy on the level, to push

ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere : ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. interim equitum turmae, *ut* fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere. et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant ; minimeque aequa nostris iam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo instantes simul[1] equorum corporibus impellerentur ; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

37 Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius adcucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox

[1] minimeque . . . adstantes simul, *H.*; minimeque equestris ei pugnae facies erat cum egra † diu aut stante simul, *F.*

their line uphill, the other battalions, exerting themselves to emulate their charge, proceeded to slaughter the nearest enemies; in their haste to snatch victory they left many behind them only half-killed, or even unhurt.

Meanwhile, the squadrons of cavalry, when the chariots fled, took a hand in the infantry battle. And here, though they had just previously swept all before them in panic, they found themselves embarrassed by the close ranks of the enemy and the unevenness of the ground; and the new aspect of the fight was by no means to our advantage, since our men with a footing on the hill-side, at best precarious, were now dislodged by the impact of the horses of their own cavalry; repeatedly also straggling chariots, the horses terror-stricken and driverless, at the casual prompting of panic made oblique or frontal charges.

Meanwhile, such of the Britons as had occupied the hill-tops, still unreached by the fighting and with leisure to deride the small numbers of our men, had begun, little by little, to descend and to surround the flanks of the conquering army; had not Agricola, in fear of this very contingency, thrown across their path four squadrons of cavalry which he had held back against the surprises of battle; the enemy were routed and dislodged with a fury proportionate to the confidence of their advance.

Thus the British strategy was turned against themselves, for the squadrons passed over by the general's order from the front of the battle and attacked the enemy's line from behind; after this, wherever the open ground permitted, began a grand and gory drama

spectaculum : sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus ; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, idem primos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem perscrutari iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua atque avia petiere. finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. caesa hostium ad decem milia : nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

38 Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus : Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras

of pursuit, wounds, capture, and then—as other fugitives crossed the path—of butchery for the captive; the enemy either fled now in armed hordes before smaller numbers, or, in some cases, according to the differences of temperament, voluntarily charged even unarmed, and made an offering of their lives. Everywhere were weapons, corpses, lopped limbs, and blood upon the ground; but sometimes even in the routed was found the courage of resentment. For as they approached the forest they rallied, and knowing their ground began to surround the foremost and the most reckless among their pursuers. Had not Agricola been everywhere with strong and light-armed battalions to net the woods, so to speak, and, where they were thicker, to dismount his horsemen, where thinner, to send his horsemen through, undue confidence might have provoked a serious reverse.

Be that as it may, when they saw the pursuit again taken up by an array of unbroken ranks, they broke, and no longer in companies as before, nor with thought for one another, but, scattering and with mutual avoidance, made for distant fastnesses. Night and satiety ended the pursuit.

The enemy's slain amounted to ten thousand men; on our side fell three hundred and sixty, among them Aulus Atticus, the commander of a battalion, whom youthful ardour and a spirited horse carried into the enemy's lines.

Night was jubilant with triumph and plunder for the victors: the Britons, scattering amid the mingled lamentations of men and women, began to drag away their wounded, to summon the unhurt, to abandon their homes, and even, in their resentment, to set fire to them with their own hands. They selected hiding-places and as quickly renounced them: they took

et statim relinquere; miscere in vicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, deserti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum (et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat), in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae litore lecto omni redierat.[1]

39 Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum

[1] unde proximo Britanniae litore lecto omni redierat, *F.*; unde proximo anno, Britanniae litore lecto omni, reditura erat, *H.*

some counsel together, and then acted separately: sometimes they broke down at the spectacle of their loved ones, more often it excited them; it was credibly reported that some of them laid violent hands upon wives and children, as it were in pity. The morrow revealed more widely the features of the victory: everywhere was dismal silence, lonely hills, houses smoking to heaven. His scouts met no one: he sent them in all directions, only to find that the traces of the fugitives pointed nowhere in particular, and that the enemy were nowhere uniting; accordingly, since the war could not take a wider range at the end of summer, he led back his troops to the territory of the Boresti. From them he took hostages, and gave orders to the commander of his fleet to circumnavigate[1] Britain; his equipment was strengthened for the purpose, and panic already had heralded the voyage. He himself marched slowly in order that the very leisureliness of his passage might strike terror into the hearts of these new tribes, until he lodged his infantry and cavalry in their winter quarters. Simultaneously the fleet, with weather and prestige alike propitious, gained the harbour of Trucculum,[2] whence it had started its coasting voyage along the whole length of the adjacent shore,[3] and to which it now had returned.

This series of achievements, though magnified by no boastfulness of language in Agricola's despatches, Domitian greeted, as his manner was, with affected pleasure and secret disquiet: in his heart was the consciousness that his recent counterfeit triumph over the Germans was a laughing-stock: he had in

1 See Appendix IV, p. 343.
2 See Introduction, pp. 156-7.
3 See Appendix IV, p. 344.

habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur : at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli : frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet ; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret : nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

40 Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper opinionem, Suriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. credidere pleri-que libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Suria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur ; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. tradiderat interim Agri-

fact purchased, in the way of trade, persons whose clothes and coiffure could be adapted to the guise of prisoners.

But here was a veritable, a decisive victory, with enemies slain in thousands, widely canvassed and advertised: this was what he dreaded most, that the name of a commoner should be exalted above his Prince: it was all in vain that the practice of public speaking and the glamour of the arts of peace had been silenced, if another was to usurp military glory. Besides, while to everything else he could be blind, the qualities of a good general were Imperial qualities: harassed with these anxieties, and wholly absorbed in his secret—a symptom that murderous schemes were afoot—he decided that it was best for the present to put his hatred in cold storage until the first burst of popularity and the applause of the army should die down; for Agricola was still master of Britain.

Accordingly, he directs that triumphal decorations, the honour of a complimentary statue, and the other substitutes for triumph usually accorded, enhanced with many fine phrases, be voted in the Senate; and that a hint should be added that the province of Syria was being set aside for Agricola: it had been vacated by the death of the consular Atilius Rufus, and was reserved for notable personages.

It was generally believed that a freedman of the inner circle of agents had been sent to Agricola with despatches in which Syria was offered him, with instructions to deliver his message should Agricola be in Britain; and that this freedman, meeting Agricola actually in the Channel, returned to Domitian without even accosting him. Possibly it was true: possibly a fiction suggested by the Imperial temperament.

cola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium inmixtus est. ceterum uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo uti plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

41 Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. et ea insecuta sunt rei publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constan-

Meanwhile Agricola had handed over a peaceful and safe province to his successor: and in order that his entrance into the city might not excite note by the concourse and bustle of a reception, he eluded the demonstrations of his friends, arrived by night, and by night repaired to the palace, in accordance with instructions. With the greeting of a hasty kiss, and without conversation, he slipped away into the obsequious mob. For the rest, in order that he might mitigate by other qualities the offence—to a society of triflers—of a soldier's fame, he drank the cup of peace and idleness to the dregs: his dress was unassuming, he was willing to talk, one or two friends only attended him; so that the world, whose custom it is to judge great men by their parade, after seeing and watching Agricola, missed his distinction and few deciphered it.

Not once only during those days was he accused to Domitian behind his back, and behind his back acquitted. There was no indictment to account for his danger, no complaint from any victim of wrong-doing: merely an Emperor unfriendly to high qualities: merely the glory of the man, and those worst of enemies, the people who praise you. There followed in fact national vicissitudes, such as did not permit Agricola to be ignored: numerous armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia lost by the rashness or supineness of their generals; numerous officers with numerous battalions stormed and captured. Anxiety hinged already not on the river's bank which was the Empire's frontier, but on the possession of the legions' winter quarters. Accordingly, when loss was added to loss, and every year was signalised with death and disaster, the voice of the people began to ask for Agricola's generalship:

tiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. quibus[1] sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

42 Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae et Asiae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. salarium tamen proconsuli consulari[2] solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse.

[1] formidine ceterorum. quibus, *F.*; formidine eorum quibus exercitus committi solerent. quibus, *H.*

[2] proconsuli consulari, *F.*; proconsulare, *H.*

every one compared his firmness, energy, and experience with the lethargy and panic of the rest. All of which gossip, it is certain, beat upon the ears of Domitian no less than of other men, the best of his freedmen seeking from love and loyalty, the worst from malice and jealousy, to stir the emotions of a master who leaned ever to the worst side. Thus was Agricola pushed headlong even up the steep hill of glory[1] both by his own qualities and by the defects of others.

The year was now at hand for him to draw lots between the governorship of Africa and Asia; but Civica had just been executed, and Agricola's discretion was as ready as the Emperor's precedents. He was approached by certain confidants of the Imperial mind, who were to ask of their own motion whether he would take a province. Their first step showed some finesse. They extolled peace and quiet: a little while and they were offering their own services to second his excuse: finally, forgoing further mystery, they dragged him to Domitian with mingled advice and warning. The Emperor with ready hypocrisy assumed a pompous air, listened to the petition "to be excused," granted it, and permitted himself to be thanked therefor: the sinister favour brought him no blushes. As for the salary, however, usually offered to a proconsul of consular rank, and in some cases conceded by the Emperor's personal intervention, he did not give it to Agricola: either he was offended that it was not asked for, or he was self-conscious, and did not wish it to appear that he had

[1] If *in ipsam gloriam* be correct, Tacitus means that few reach glory, and they, as a rule, slowly. Agricola, however, was "rushed" into it.

proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis escendere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

43 Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti, adfirmare *ut* ausim. ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius crebrius quam ex more principatus, per nuntios visentis et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos

[1] See Introduction, p. 159.

purchased the decision, which was really due to his own prohibition.

It is a principle of human nature to hate those whom you have injured: nevertheless Domitian, though by nature of a violent temper and unrelenting in proportion to his secretiveness, was pacified by the moderation and discretion of Agricola, in whom was no insurgency, no fatuous parade of independence, to invite tattle and tragedy.[1]

Let those whose way it is to admire only things forbidden learn from him that great men can live even under bad rulers; and that submission and moderation, if animation and energy go with them, reach the same pinnacle of fame, whither more often men have climbed, with no profit to the state, by the steep path of a pretentious death.[2]

The end of his life brought mourning to us, melancholy to his friends, solicitude even to the bystander and those who knew him not; the great public itself and this busy, preoccupied city came repeatedly to his doors, and talked of him in public gatherings and private circles. No one, on hearing of Agricola's death, was glad, nor—at once—forgetful. Commiseration was enhanced by the persistent rumour that he had been put out of the way by poison. I have no evidence on which to venture an assertion.

However it be, throughout his illness came the chief freedmen and the confidential physicians of the Palace with a regularity unusual in a prince who visits by deputy, whether this was interest or espionage.

When the end came, every flicker of the failing life, it was well known, was chronicled by relays of

2 Tacitus' regard for Stoicism is tempered with the reflection that the army of martyrs includes, if some noble spirits, many more banal and blatant persons. See also Introduction, p. 152.

cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic adcelerari quae tristis audiret. speciem tamen doloris animi vultu[1] prae se tulit, securus iam odii et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. tam caeca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

44 Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule idibus Iuniis : excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decumo kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque consulibus. quod si habitum quoque eius posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil impetus[2] in vultu : gratia oris supererat. bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat ? opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae non contigerant.[3] filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate,

[1] doloris animi vultu, *F.*; doloris habitu vultuque, *H.*
[2] impetus, *F.*; metus, *H.*
[3] speciosae non contigerant, *F.*; speciosae contigerant, *H.*

runners, and no one believed that men so grasp at news in order to regret the hearing. Yet in his face he paraded the semblance of a sorrowing heart; his hate was now no longer anxious, and it was his temperament to hide joy more easily than fear. It was well ascertained that on reading the will of Agricola, which named Domitian co-heir with the best of wives, the most dutiful of daughters, he exulted as in a verdict of honourable acquittal. So blinded, so perverted was his intelligence by unremitting flattery that he did not see that it is the bad prince who is made heir by good fathers.

Agricola was born on the 13th of June, in the third consulship of Gaius Caesar; he died in his fifty-fourth year on the 23rd of August, in the consulship of Collega and Priscus.

Should posterity desire to learn his mere appearance, he was well-proportioned rather than imposing. There was no irritability in his face; its dominant expression was benign. You could easily credit him with goodness, and be glad to think him great. As for the man himself, though snatched away in the mid-career of his prime, he lived to a ripe old age measured by renown. The true blessings of life which lie in character he had fulfilled. What more could fortune have added to one who had been consul, and had worn the decorations of triumph? Excessive wealth gave him no pleasure; even the wealth which makes a show had never been his. With daughter and wife surviving him, he may even pass for happy to have escaped what was to come with his position

florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. nam sicut iuvaret durare[1] in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras auris ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.

45 Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius tum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus,[2] nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. ut perhibent qui

1 sicut iuvaret durare, *Müller*; sicut ei non licuit durare, *H.*; sicut * * * durare, *F.*

2 nos Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus, Γ^{m}, *F.* (see Introduction, p. 149); nos Maurici Rusticique visus, *H.*

unimpaired, his reputation brilliant, his friends and kin safe.

For though it would have suited him to survive to the light of this happy age, and to see Trajan ruling —a consummation which he prognosticated in our hearing alike in prayer and prophecy—yet he reaped a great compensation for his premature death, in escaping those last days wherein Domitian no longer fitfully and with breathing spaces, but with one continuous and, so to speak, single blow, poured forth the life-blood of the state.

It was not his fate to see the Senate-house besieged, the Senate surrounded by armed men, and in the same reign of terror so many consulars butchered, the flight and exile of so many honourable women. Metius Carus was still rated at one victory only; Messalinus' rasping voice was confined to the Alban council-chamber; and Baebius Massa was at that time in prison. A little while and our hands it was which dragged Helvidius to his dungeon; we it was who put asunder[1] Mauricus and Rusticus; Senecio bathed us in his unoffending blood. Nero after all withdrew his eyes, nor contemplated the crimes he authorised. Under Domitian it was no small part of our sufferings that we saw him and were seen of him; that our sighs were counted in his books; that not a pale cheek of all that company escaped those brutal eyes, that crimson face which flushed continually lest shame should unawares surprise it.[2]

Happy your fate, Agricola! happy not only in the lustre of your life, but in a timely death. As they tell

1 *Vide* Introduction, p. 149.

2 Domitian enjoyed the advantage of a recurrent and physical rush of blood to the face, which saved him from the blushes of the spirit.

interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. sed mihi filiaeque tuae praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus es. omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

46 Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. admiratione te potius et immortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine colamus: is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur; non quia

the tale who heard your latest utterance, you met your doom steadily and cheerfully; as though, so far as in you lay, to offer to your Emperor the balm of innocence.

Yet to me and to your daughter, besides the bitterness of a father's loss, it is an added grief that it was denied us to sit beside your bed of sickness, to comfort your fainting spirit, to take our fill of gazing and embrace. At least we had then received some message, some utterance to lay deeply to heart. This grief was peculiarly ours, and ours this blow, that by the circumstance of our long absence you were lost to us four years too soon.[1] All tributes, I doubt not, best of fathers, were rendered, were lavished, in your honour by the fond wife at your bedside; yet fewer by so much were the tears that fell for you, and something at least there was which your eyes missed when last they sought the light.

If there be any habitation for the spirits of the just; if, as wise men will have it, the soul that is great perish not with the body, may you rest in peace, and summon us, your household, from weak repinings and womanish tears to the contemplation of those virtues which it were impiety to lament or mourn. Let reverence rather, let unending thankfulness, let imitation even, if our strength permit, be our tribute to your memory: this is true respect, this is kinship's duty. This would I say to wife and daughter, so to venerate the memory of husband and of father as to ponder each word and deed within their hearts, and to cleave to the lineaments and features of the soul rather than of the body.

[1] Tacitus left Rome for a provincial governorship—possibly in Belgium on the confines of Germany—about A.D. 89, and was absent for four years, A.D. 89–93, during which time came the death of Agricola.

intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, *in* fama rerum; nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

Not that I think the image wrought of bronze or marble should be forbidden, but vain alike and passing is the face of man and the similitude thereof: only the fashion of the soul remains, to be known and shown not through alien substances and arts, but in your very life and walk.

Whatever we have loved in Agricola, whatever we have admired, abides, and will abide, in the hearts of men, in the procession of the ages, in the records of history. Many of the ancients has Forgetfulness engulfed as though fame nor name were theirs: Agricola, whose story here is told, will outlive death, to be our children's heritage.

INTRODUCTION TO *GERMANIA*

(A) *MSS.*

The chief MSS. are four in number, and go back to two lost archetypes: two to each archetype. The archetypes have been known as X and Y. The four MSS. derived from these have been divided into

(1) B, a Vatican MS., No. 1862.

(2) b, a Leyden MS., also called Pontanus from Jovius Pontanus, its scribe, who says that he transcribed it in the year 1460 from a damaged and faulty original, discovered by Enoch Asculanus a few years earlier at or near Fulda. (See Introduction to *Agricola*, p. 151.)

These two, B and b, are supposed to come from X.

Then from Y come

(3) C, a Vatican MS., No. 1518.

(4) c, Farnesianus or Neapolitanus (now at Naples).

Apparently neither tradition is uniformly better than the other; but the superiority, if there be any, lies with B and b.

Other MSS. now in Germany at Munich and Stuttgart are supposed to go back to Asculanus' find, but to a date anterior to his finding it.

Accordingly, as in the case of the *Agricola*, so also in the case of the *Germania*, our best MS. authority is unsatisfactory, and much must be unintelligible or supplied by ingenuity and conjecture.

(B) *Date*

Tacitus, having tried his prentice hand on Britain, passed on to celebrate Germany, and probably published the later work in the year 98 A.D., soon after Trajan's accession and a few months after the publication of the *Agricola*.

(C) *Purpose*

In each case his choice of themes for short studies, introductory more or less to his larger *Histories*, appears to have been suggested by his model Sallust: from this point of view, as the *Agricola* may be said to be a sort of echo of the *Catiline*, the *Germania* bears an analogy to the *Jugurtha*.

The purpose of the sketch, as of the *Agricola*, is disputed without much reason.

It has been assumed to be a political work supporting the Emperor Trajan in his cautious and defensive policy against Germany, by pointing out the great strength of the Germans, and the degree to which Rome had been indebted for her measure of success against them to good luck or to that Providence which seems—on this occasion—to have been on the side of the weaker battalions. Only the internal feuds of the Germans and their incapacity to work together (ch. 33) saved Rome.

It has been supposed, again, to be the work of a moralist and satirist holding up the picture of a primitive and manly race before the eyes of decadent Romans.

The former suggestion, if not wholly beside the mark, is at least a very inadequate explanation of a treatise which shows a mind of many interests, by

no means obsessed with contemporary or practical politics, but open to all that appeals to an intelligent and educated man: character, habits, institutions, folk-lore, natural history, comparative religion.

The second suggestion is still narrower. No one reading the *Germania* simply, without a thesis to defend, would find in it merely an academic scoff at civilisation and a professional or professorial eulogy of savages or backwoodsmen. Intermingled with the sarcasms at the expense of Rome are other sarcasms, not less biting, at the expense of the gambling, drinking, shiftless hunter or Boer. And side by side with each style of sarcasm is a great deal of straightforward, simple description of "cities of men and manners, councils, climates, governments," in which there is not a shadow of satire. Besides, the *Agricola* shows how strongly Tacitus sympathised with the statesman and distrusted both the moralist pure and simple and also his next-door neighbour, the political philosopher and doctrinaire. A moral tract, if it appealed to Tacitus the rhetorician, would, on the other hand, to Tacitus the statesman and son-in-law of Agricola be too suggestive of Thrasea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus, of fanaticism and Stoic martyrolatry.

An historian—it is the commonest of commonplaces to-day—must write of life, not of battles only and kings. Tacitus is not unacquainted with that much-vaunted discovery of the moderns, and he is beginning his historical studies by a sketch of Germany, added to a biography of *Agricola*.

(D) *Value*

The *Germania*, from the nature of the subject, is less brilliant and epigrammatic than the *Agricola*.

Almost necessarily it has some of the same defects: the geography is still vague, even though vagueness be less pardonable; the constitutional history and political science have something of the same quality; the writer's account of German monarchies and German republics, of the relations of *pagus* and *vicus* (canton and village), of chief and retainer, of the different assemblies of the German tribes, of the organisation of the army, of the judges and assessors, of the different clothing of different ranks, of the relations of master and slave, of land-tenure in the village-community, of the symbolism of German marriage, will not satisfy severe students of comparative institutions, of constitutional history, and of ancient law.

At first sight, then, it may seem that he has fallen between two stools: that his book is too serious for the frivolous lover of rhetoric, too rhetorical and satirical for the scientific student of history. It would be fairer to say that it is, like Massilia in the *Agricola*, a happy mixture of Greek humanity and provincial simplicity; written, that is, for the average Roman of education, who is neither the fatigued *raconteur* of high society nor the fatiguing scholar and tedious theorist of an academic circle. The cultivated man of the world, orator, and moralist, is here breaking new ground in that field of history which on various occasions since has been claimed as the province of dryasdust antiquarianism or of constitutional law, but which has never been wholly given up to these or any other "inhumanities."

If there are other disturbing causes, besides vagueness and sketchiness, which diminish the value of the *Germania* in technical details, they ultimately go back to the same root of the humanities. The

satirist and moralist in Tacitus disturb his judgment when he comes to write, for example, of marriage and dower: he cannot keep his eyes off the Roman bride when he describes her simpler and more "German" sister: he is living in an age of feminism when marriage for many women involves neither responsibility, duty, nor danger, and here (chs. 18 and 19), no less than in the *Agricola* (ch. 6), he takes his fling at the age. Such passages breathe the defects of his qualities.

Again, the *Agricola* and *Germania* are the works of Tacitus' experimental stage: the dyer's hand is not yet subdued to what it works in. We cannot expect in them the vivid or the lurid pictures which haunt the readers of his later and stronger history: the picture of a falling Emperor who "tries the barred door and shudders in the empty chambers" (*Histories,* III. 84); of another victim who "runs the gauntlet of the staring streets"; or the picture of the end of that Tiberius himself, in whose case alone perhaps it may fairly be said that Tacitus becomes captious, academic, and hypercritical: "and now was life leaving Tiberius, life and strength; dissimulation lingered" (*Annals,* VI. 50).

Scenes like these are the characteristic product of the gloomy imagination which had gradually discarded, under the depressing experiences of mature life, all its earlier creed for the one sombre article, "There is a God who punishes" (*Histories,* I. 3)—the same article to which the Swedish realist Strindberg also ultimately reverted after all other doctrines had gone by the board in the wreckage of his life.

The pictures of the *Agricola* and the *Germania* are of a tamer order, and yet they are powerful and

impressive beyond the measure of the writings of other Roman historians.

They lose in power and impressiveness only when they desert history for any branch of philosophy, natural or moral.

It has been said of an English historian, moralist, and biographer that his style is "desiccated by science and soured by moralism." If the *Germania* does not suggest the same reflections on Tacitus' style, it may be said indirectly to support the same general thesis; for if Tacitus' science enlivens rather than desiccates his narrative, if his sarcastic moralising spices rather than sours his history, it is only because the science is naive and Roman and out of date even for his time (see ch. 45), and the moralising at once ironical and wistful, especially in the last chapter. The squalid misery of the poor Lapps seems an unpromising subject for the moralist, but there is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous; and so there strays even from the dirty, rain-soaked Lapp tepee a gleam of the ideal, if not to the consciousness of the half-human occupant, yet to the sensitive, susceptible onlooker, the Roman man of letters.

(E) *Style and Language*

As for the actual language of the *Germania*, the mannerism of alliteration is constant, as in the *Agricola*: it is not always possible to preserve the device in an English translation. I have endeavoured to do so where I have noticed it: if I have missed some instances, I have in compensation interpolated others not quite supererogatory.

There is the same love of epigram as in the *Agricola*, so far as the subject permits: for example,

the picture of the indolent fighting German (ch. 15), "with the curious incongruity of temperament which makes the same man at once love sleep but hate quiet"—a variation of that typical Irishman who said, "I love action, but I hate work"; or in ch. 25, "the disabilities of the freedman are the evidence of freedom"; or in ch. 30, "other Germans you may see going to battle; the Chatti go to war"; or in ch. 34, "it was voted more religious and more reverent to believe in the works of Deity than to comprehend them"; or in ch. 37, "the Germans have gratified us with more triumphs than victories"; or in ch. 43, "in every battle, after all, the eye is conquered first"; or, finally, the somewhat cryptic epigram on the Finns, "among them the woman rules: to this extent they have fallen lower not merely than freemen but even than slaves."

M. H.

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GERMANIA

DE GERMANIA

LIBER

1 Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur: cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum inmensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danuvius molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae iugo effusus pluris populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum os paludibus hauritur.

2 Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos, quia nec terra olim, sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et inmensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur.

1 That is, Germany beyond the Rhine as distinguished from Germany west of the Rhine, which has already been divided into two Roman provinces: Germania Superior and Germania

GERMANY

UNDIVIDED Germany[1] is separated from the Gauls, Rhaetians, and Pannonians by the rivers Rhine and Danube: from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutual misgivings or mountains: the rest of it is surrounded by the ocean, which enfolds wide peninsulas and islands of vast expanse, some of whose peoples and kings have but recently become known to us: war has lifted the curtain.

The Rhine, rising from the inaccessible and precipitous crest of the Rhaetian Alps, after turning west for a reach of some length is lost in the North Sea. The Danube pours from the sloping and not very lofty ridge of Mount Abnoba, and visits several peoples on its course, until at length it emerges by six of its channels into the Pontic Sea: the seventh mouth is swallowed in marshes.

As for the Germans themselves, I should suppose them to be indigenous and very slightly blended with new arrivals from other races or alliances; for originally people who sought to migrate reached their destination in fleets and not by land; whilst, in the second place, the leagues of ocean on the further side of Germany, at the opposite end of the world, so to

Inferior. Tacitus is imitating the opening of Caesar's *Gallic War*, where "all Gaul" means Gaul as an undivided unit and distinct from the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis.

quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit?

Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur. quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis appellationes, Marsos Gambrivios Suebos Vandilios adfirmant, eaque vera et antiqua nomina. ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen, non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox etiam a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur.

3 Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem

1 *Adversus* is sometimes translated "Antipodean." Tacitus cannot mean as much as that: there is no "Antipodes" in his geography: he means at the further side of the flat earth from Italy. See the Introduction to the *Agricola*, sect. (E).

speak, from us,[1] are rarely visited by ships from our world. Besides, who, apart from the perils of an awful and unknown sea, would have left Asia or Africa or Italy to look for Germany? With its wild scenery and harsh climate it is pleasant neither to live in nor look upon unless it be one's home.

Their ancient hymns—the only style of record or history which they possess—celebrate a god Tuisto, a scion of the soil, and his son Mannus as the beginning and the founders of their race. To Mannus they ascribe three sons, from whose names the tribes of the sea-shore are to be known as Ingaevones, the central tribes as Herminones, and the rest as Istaevones. Some authorities, using the licence which pertains to antiquity, pronounce for more sons to the god and a larger number of race names, Marsi, Gambrivii, Suebi, Vandilii: these are, they say, real and ancient names, while the name of "Germany" is new and a recent addition.[2] The first tribes in fact to cross the Rhine and expel the Gauls, though now called Tungri, were then styled Germans: so little by little the name—a tribal, not a national, name—prevailed, until the whole people were called by the artificial name of "Germans," first only by the victorious tribe in order to intimidate the Gauls, but afterwards among themselves also.

They further record how Hercules appeared among the Germans, and on the eve of battle the natives hymn "Hercules, the first of brave men." They have also those cries by the utterance of which—

[2] The Romans thought it a Roman word, meaning the "genuine" Celts as distinguished from the degenerate Celts of Gaul. It is more likely a Gallic word, used by Gauls of Germans, whatever be its meaning (see Latham, p. 27).

baritum[1] vocant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur; terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adiecto Laërtae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc extare. quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

4 Ipse eorum opinioni accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse arbitrantur. unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida: laboris atque operum non eadem

[1] baritum, *Naples MS.*; barditum, *other MSS.*, *F.*, *H.*

"barritus"[1] is the name they use—they inspire courage; and they divine the fortunes of the coming battle from the circumstances of the cry. Intimidation or timidity depends on the concert of the warriors; it seems to them to mean not so much unison of voices as union of hearts; the object they specially seek is a certain volume of hoarseness, a crashing roar, their shields being brought up to their lips, that the voice may swell to a fuller and deeper note by means of the echo.

To return. Ulysses also—in the opinion of some authorities—was carried, during those long and legendary wanderings, into this ocean, and reached the countries of Germany. Asciburgium, which stands on the banks of the Rhine and has inhabitants to-day, was founded, they say, and named by him; further, they say that an altar dedicated by Ulysses, who coupled therewith the name of his father Laertes, was once found at the same place, and that certain monuments and barrows, inscribed with Greek letters, are still extant on the borderland between Germany and Rhaetia. I have no intention of furnishing evidence to establish or refute these assertions: every one according to his temperament may minimise or magnify their credibility.

Personally I associate myself with the opinions of those who hold that in the peoples of Germany there has been given to the world a race untainted by intermarriage with other races, a peculiar people and pure, like no one but themselves; whence it comes that their physique, in spite of their vast numbers, is identical: fierce blue eyes, red hair, tall frames, powerful only spasmodically, and impatient at the same time of labour and hard work, and by no means

[1] See Appendix I, p. 345.

patientia, minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove adsueverunt.

5 Terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum inpatiens, pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera. ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito. nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim scrutatus est? possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae adgnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

6 Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur:

habituated to bearing thirst and heat; to cold and hunger, thanks to the climate and the soil, they are accustomed.

There are some varieties in the appearance of the country, but broadly it is a land of bristling forests and unhealthy marshes; the rainfall is heavier on the side of Gaul; the winds are higher on the side of Noricum and Pannonia.

It is fertile in cereals, but unkindly to fruit-bearing trees; it is rich in flocks and herds, but for the most part they are undersized. Even the cattle lack natural beauty and majestic brows. The pride of the people is rather in the number of their beasts, which constitute the only wealth they welcome.

The gods have denied them gold and silver, whether in mercy or in wrath I find it hard to say; not that I would assert that Germany has no veins bearing gold or silver: for who has explored there? At any rate, they are not affected, like their neighbours, by the use and possession of such things. One may see among them silver vases, given as gifts to their commanders and chieftains, but treated as of no more value than earthenware. Although the border tribes for purposes of traffic treat gold and silver as precious metals, and recognise and collect certain coins of our money, the tribes of the interior practise barter in the simpler and older fashion. The coinage which appeals to them is the old and long-familiar: the denarii with milled edges, showing the two-horsed chariot. They prefer silver to gold: not that they have any feeling in the matter, but because a number of silver pieces is easier to use for people whose purchases consist of cheap objects of general utility.

Even iron is not plentiful among them, as may be gathered from the style of their weapons. Few have

hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel comminus vel eminus pugnent. et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est, pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli, atque in inmensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distingunt. paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur: in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. in universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos ante aciem locant. definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est. acies per cuneos componitur. cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso

swords or the longer kind of lance: they carry short spears, in their language "frameae," with a narrow and small iron head, so sharp and so handy in use that they fight with the same weapon, as circumstances demand, both at close quarters and at a distance. The mounted man is content with a shield and framea: the infantry launch showers of missiles in addition, each man a volley, and hurl these to great distances, for they wear no outer clothing, or at most a light cloak.

There is no bravery of apparel among them: their shields only are picked out with choice colours. Few have breast-plates: scarcely one or two at most have metal or hide helmets. The horses are conspicuous neither for beauty nor speed; but then neither are they trained like our horses to run in shifting circles: they ride them forwards only or to the right, with but one turn from the straight, dressing the line so closely as they wheel that no one is left behind. On a broad view there is more strength in their infantry, and accordingly cavalry and infantry fight in one body, the swift-footed infantryman, whom they pick out of the whole body of warriors and place in front of the line, being well-adapted and suitable for cavalry battles. The number of these men is fixed—one hundred from each canton: and among themselves this, "the Hundred," is the precise name they use; what was once a number only has become a title and a distinction. The battle-line itself is arranged in wedges: to retire, provided you press on again, they treat as a question of tactics, not of cowardice: they carry off their dead and wounded even in drawn battles. To have abandoned one's shield is the height of disgrace; the man so disgraced cannot be present at religious rites, nor attend a council: many

fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

7 Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt. effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt; quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores: ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt: nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

8 Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata comminus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et pro-

survivors of war have ended their infamy with a noose.

They take their kings on the ground of birth, their generals on the basis of courage: the authority of their kings is not unlimited or arbitrary; their generals control them by example rather than command, and by means of the admiration which attends upon energy and a conspicuous place in front of the line. But anything beyond this—capital punishment, imprisonment, even a blow—is permitted only to the priests, and then not as a penalty or under the general's orders, but as an inspiration from the god whom they suppose to accompany them on campaign: certain totems, in fact, and emblems are fetched from groves and carried into battle. The strongest incentive to courage lies in this, that neither chance nor casual grouping makes the squadron or the wedge, but family and kinship: close at hand, too, are their dearest, whence is heard the wailing voice of woman and the child's cry: here are the witnesses who are in each man's eyes most precious; here the praise he covets most: they take their wounds to mother and wife, who do not shrink from counting the hurts and demanding a sight of them:[1] they minister to the combatants food and exhortation.

Tradition relates that some lost or losing battles have been restored by the women, by the incessance of their prayers and by the baring of their breasts; for so is it brought home to the men that the slavery, which they dread much more keenly on their women's account, is close at hand: it follows that the loyalty of those tribes is more effectually guaranteed from whom, among other hostages, maids of high birth have been exacted.

[1] See Appendix II, p. 346.

vidum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa neglegunt. vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Velaedam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam; sed et olim Albrunam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas.

9 Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.

10 Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant: sortium consuetudo simplex. virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae, precatus

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1 The Germans recognised divine inspiration when they saw it; the Romans "manufactured" goddesses out of very inferior clay.

2 *i.e.* to the local god, whom the *interpretatio Romana*

Further, they conceive that in woman is a certain uncanny and prophetic sense: they neither scorn to consult them nor slight their answers. In the reign of Vespasian of happy memory we saw Velaeda treated as a deity by many during a long period; but in ancient times also they reverenced Albruna and many other women—in no spirit of flattery, nor for the manufacture of goddesses.[1]

Of the gods, they give a special worship to Mercury,[2] to whom on certain days they count even the sacrifice of human life lawful. Hercules and Mars[3] they appease with such animal life as is permissible. A section of the Suebi[4] sacrifices also to Isis: the cause and origin of this foreign worship I have not succeeded in discovering, except that the emblem itself, which takes the shape of a Liburnian galley, shows that the ritual is imported.[5]

Apart from this they deem it incompatible with the majesty of the heavenly host to confine the gods within walls, or to mould them into any likeness of the human face: they consecrate groves and coppices, and they give the divine names to that mysterious something which is visible only to the eyes of faith.

To divination and the lot they pay as much attention as any one: the method of drawing lots is uniform. A bough is cut from a nut-bearing tree and divided into slips: these are distinguished by certain runes and spread casually and at random over white cloth: afterwards, should the inquiry be official the priest of the state, if private the father of the family

identified with Mercury, viz. Wuodan or Odin: compare our Wednesday with the French Mercredi.

3 See Appendix III, p. 347.

4 See ch. 38 and Appendix IX, p. 350.

5 See Appendix IV, p. 347.

deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres; sacerdotes enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. eius gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.

11 De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes praetractentur. coëunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur; nam

in person, after prayers to the gods and with eyes turned to heaven,[1] takes up one slip at a time till he has done this on three separate occasions, and after taking the three interprets them according to the runes which have been already stamped on them: if the message be a prohibition, no inquiry on the same matter is made during the same day; if the message be permissive, further confirmation is required by means of divination; and even among the Germans divination by consultation of the cries and flight of birds is well known, but their special divination is to make trial of the omens and warnings furnished by horses.

In the same groves and coppices are fed certain white horses, never soiled by mortal use: these are yoked to a sacred chariot and accompanied by the priest and king, or other chief of the state, who then observe their neighing or snorting. On no other divination is more reliance placed, not merely by the people but also by their leaders: the priests they regard as the servants of the gods, but the horses are their confidants.

They have another method of taking divinations, by means of which they probe the issue of serious wars. A member of the tribe at war with them is somehow or other captured and pitted against a selected champion of their own countrymen, each in his tribal armour. The victory of one or the other is taken as a presage.

On small matters the chiefs consult; on larger questions the community; but with this limitation, that even the subjects, the decision of which rests with the people, are first handled by the chiefs. They meet, unless there be some unforeseen and

[1] See Appendix V, p. 348.

agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur. illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coëuntium absumitur. ut turbae [1] placuit, considunt armati. silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coërcendi ius est, imperatur. mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt: honoratissimum adsensus genus est armis laudare.

12 Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. distinctio poenarum ex delicto. proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames caeno ac palude, iniecta insuper crate, mergunt. diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena: equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur. pars multae regi vel civitati, pars

[1] turbae, *MSS.*; turba, *F.*, *H.*]

sudden emergency, on days set apart—when the moon, that is, is new or at the full : they regard this as the most auspicious herald for the transaction of business. They count not by days as we do, but by nights : [1] their decisions and proclamations are subject to this principle : the night, that is, seems to take precedence of the day.

It is a foible of their freedom that they do not meet at once and when commanded, but a second and a third day is wasted by dilatoriness in assembling : when the mob is pleased to begin, they take their seats carrying arms. Silence is called for by the priests, who thenceforward have power also to coerce : then a king or a chief is listened to, in order of age, birth, glory in war, or eloquence, with the prestige which belongs to their counsel rather than with any prescriptive right to command. If the advice tendered be displeasing, they reject it with groans ; if it please them, they clash their spears : the most complimentary expression of assent is this martial approbation.

At this assembly it is also permissible to lay accusations and to bring capital charges. The nature of the death penalty differs according to the offence : traitors and deserters are hung from trees ; cowards and poor fighters and notorious evil-livers are plunged in the mud of marshes with a hurdle on their heads : the difference of punishment has regard to the principle that crime should be blazoned abroad by its retribution, but abomination hidden. Lighter offences have also a measured punishment : those convicted are fined in a number of horses and cattle : part of the fine goes to the king or the state ; part is paid to the

[1] Compare our words "fortnight," "se'nnight," the relics of the same principle.

ipsi, qui vindicavit,[1] vel propinquis eius exsolvitur. eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt; centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.

13 Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant: haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae. insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adulescentulis adsignant: ceteris[2] robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter comites adspici. gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, iudicio eius quem sectantur; magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat; expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

14 Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci,

1 vindicavit, *Vatican MS.* (*B*); vindicatur, *other MSS.*, *F.*, *H.*
2 ceteris, *MSS.*, *F.*; ceteri, *H. after Lipsius.*

person himself who brings the charge or to his relatives. At the same gatherings are selected chiefs, who administer law through the cantons and villages: each of them has one hundred assessors from the people to be his responsible advisers.

They do no business, public or private, without arms in their hands; yet the custom is that no one take arms until the state has endorsed his competence: then in the assembly itself one of the chiefs or his father or his relatives equip the young man with shield and spear: this corresponds with them to the toga, and is youth's first public distinction: hitherto he seems a member of the household, now a member of the state. Conspicuously high birth, or signal services on the part of ancestors, win the chieftain's approbation even for very young men: they mingle with the others, men of maturer strength and tested by long years, and have no shame to be seen among his retinue. In the retinue itself degrees are observed, depending on the judgment of him whom they follow: there is great rivalry among the retainers to decide who shall have the first place with his chief, and among the chieftains as to who shall have the largest and keenest retinue. This means rank and strength, to be surrounded always with a large band of chosen youths—glory in peace, in war protection: nor is it only so with his own people, but with neighbouring states also it means name and fame for a man that his retinue be conspicuous for number and character: such men are in request for embassies, and are honoured with gifts, and often, by the mere terror of their name, break the back of opposition in war.

When the battlefield is reached it is a reproach

turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse : illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est : principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare : exigunt enim *a* principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam ; nam epulae et quamquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri. pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare.

15 Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum [1] venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia : ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, cum idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. mos est civitatibus ultro

[1] multum, *Lipsius* ; non multum, *MSS.*, *F.*, *H.*

for a chief to be surpassed in prowess; a reproach for his retinue not to equal the prowess of its chief: but to have left the field and survived one's chief, this means lifelong infamy and shame: to protect and defend him, to devote one's own feats even to his glorification, this is the gist of their allegiance: the chief fights for victory, but the retainers for the chief.

Should it happen that the community where they are born be drugged with long years of peace and quiet, many of the high-born youth voluntarily seek those tribes which are at the time engaged in some war; for rest is unwelcome to the race, and they distinguish themselves more readily in the midst of uncertainties: besides, you cannot keep up a great retinue except by war and violence, for it is to the free-handed chief that they look for that war-horse, for that murderous and masterful spear: banquetings and a certain rude but lavish outfit take the place of salary. The material for this free-handedness comes through war and foray. You will not so readily persuade them to plough the land and wait for the year's returns as to challenge the enemy and earn wounds: besides, it seems limp and slack to get with the sweating of your brow what you can gain with the shedding of your blood.

When they are not entering on war, they spend much time in hunting, but more in idleness—creatures who eat and sleep, the best and bravest warriors doing nothing, having handed over the charge of their home, hearth, and estate to the women and the old men and the weakest members of the family: for themselves they vegetate, by that curious incongruity of temperament which makes of the same men such lovers of slumber and such haters of quiet.

ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque; iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

16 Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium sive inscitia aedificandi. ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. quaedam loca diligentius inlinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac liniamenta colorum imitetur. solent et subterraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemis et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum eius modi loci molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

17 Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, no

It is the custom in their states to bestow upon the chief unasked and man by man some portion of one's cattle or crops: it is accepted as a compliment, but also serves his needs. The chiefs appreciate still more the gifts of neighbouring tribes, which are sent not merely by individuals but by the community—selected horses, heavy armour, bosses and bracelets: by this time we have taught them to accept money also.

It is well known that none of the German tribes live in cities, that even individually they do not permit houses to touch each other: they live separated and scattered, according as spring-water, meadow, or grove appeals to each man: they lay out their villages not, after our fashion, with buildings contiguous and connected; every one keeps a clear space round his house, whether it be a precaution against the chances of fire, or just ignorance of building. They have not even learned to use quarry-stone or tiles: the timber they use for all purposes is unshaped, and stops short of all ornament or attraction: certain buildings are smeared with a stucco bright and glittering enough to be a substitute for paint and frescoes. They are in the habit also of opening pits in the earth and piling dung in quantities on the roof, as a refuge from the winter or a root-house, because such places mitigate the rigour of frost, and if an enemy come, he lays waste the open; but the hidden and buried houses are either missed outright or escape detection just because they require a search.

For clothing all wear a cloak, fastened with a clasp, or, in its absence, a thorn: they spend whole days on the hearth round the fire with no other covering. The richest men are distinguished by the wearing of under-clothes; not loose, like those of Parthians and

fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae neglegenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. eligunt feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet. quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur.

18 Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. intersunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. in haec munera uxor accipitur, atque in vicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert: hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos arbitrantur. ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet,

Sarmatians, but drawn tight, throwing each limb into relief.

They wear also the skins of wild beasts, the tribes adjoining the river-bank in casual fashion, the further tribes with more attention, since they cannot depend on traders for clothing. The beasts for this purpose are selected, and the hides so taken are chequered with the pied skins of the creatures native to the outer ocean and its unknown waters.

The women have the same dress as the men, except that very often trailing linen garments, striped with purple, are in use for women: the upper part of this costume does not widen into sleeves: their arms and shoulders are therefore bare, as is the adjoining portion of the breast.

None the less the marriage tie with them is strict: you will find nothing in their character to praise more highly. They are almost the only barbarians who are content with a wife apiece: the very few exceptions have nothing to do with passion, but consist of those with whom polygamous marriage is eagerly sought for the sake of their high birth.

As for dower, it is not the wife who brings it to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents and relations are present to approve these gifts—gifts not devised for ministering to female fads, nor for the adornment of the person of the bride, but oxen, a horse and bridle, a shield and spear or sword; it is to share these things that the wife is taken by the husband, and she herself, in turn, brings some piece of armour to her husband. Here is the gist of the bond between them, here in their eyes its mysterious sacrament, the divinity which hedges it. That the wife may not imagine herself released from the practice of heroism, released

ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque: hoc iuncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. sic vivendum, sic pereundum: accipere se quae liberis inviolata reddat, ac digna[1] quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur.

19 Ergo saepta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptae. litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa: abscisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit; publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur. melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. sic unum accipiunt maritum quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament. numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex adgnatis necare flagitium

[1] inviolata reddat, ac digna, *Acidalius*; inviolata ac digna reddat, *MSS.*, *F.*, *H.*

from the chances of war, she is thus warned by the very rites with which her marriage begins that she comes to share hard work and peril; that her fate will be the same as his in peace and in panic, her risks the same. This is the moral of the yoked oxen, of the bridled horse, of the exchange of arms; so must she live and so must die. The things she takes she is to hand over inviolate to her children, fit to be taken by her daughters-in-law and passed on again to her grandchildren.

So their life is one of fenced-in chastity. There is no arena with its seductions, no dinner-tables with their provocations to corrupt them. Of the exchange of secret letters men and women alike are innocent; adulteries are very few for the number of the people. Punishment is prompt and is the husband's prerogative: her hair close-cropped, stripped of her clothes, her husband drives her from his house in presence of his relatives and pursues her with blows through the length of the village. For prostituted chastity there is no pardon; beauty nor youth nor wealth will find her a husband. No one laughs at vice there; no one calls seduction, suffered or wrought, the spirit of the age. Better still are those tribes where only maids marry, and where a woman makes an end, once for all, with the hopes and vows of a wife; so they take one husband only, just as one body and one life, in order that there may be no second thoughts, no belated fancies: in order that their desire may be not for the man, but for marriage;[1] to limit the number of their children, to make away with any of the later children is held abominable,

[1] See Appendix VI, p. 348.

habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

20 In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur. dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus adgnoscat. sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa, similis proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt. sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius et domum latius teneant. heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. quanto

1 An obvious reference to Roman race-suicide and infanticide and to the attempt made by the lex Papia Poppaea to stem these evils.

2 *Deliciis educationis* looks at first sight the Latin equivalent to τὰ πέριττα, τὰ κομψά in Greek (in Euripides' *Antiope*, 25–27, for instance), but it is not so: the Greek refers

and good habits have more force with them than good laws elsewhere.[1]

There then they are, the children, in every house, filling out amid nakedness and squalor into that girth of limb and frame which is to our people a marvel. Its own mother suckles each at her breast; they are not passed on to nursemaids and wet-nurses.

Nor can master be recognised from servant by any flummery [2] in their respective bringing-up: they live in the company of the same cattle and on the same mud floor till years separate the free-born and character claims her own.

The virginity of youth is late treasured and puberty therefore inexhaustible; nor for the girls is there any hot-house forcing; they pass their youth in the same way as the boys: their stature is as tall; when they reach the same strength they are mated, and the children reproduce the vigour of the parents. Sisters' children mean as much to their uncle as to their father: [3] some tribes regard this blood-tie as even closer and more sacred than that between son and father, and in taking hostages make it the basis of their demand, as though they thus secure loyalty more surely and have a wider hold on the family.

However, so far as heirship and succession are concerned, each man's children are his heirs, and there is no will; if there be no children, the nearest degrees of relationship for the holding of property are brothers, paternal uncles, and uncles maternal:

(as one would expect) to education in the narrower and more technical sense, and therein to "culture" subjects and to the "other frills" of education; but Tacitus only means that the children are all brought up without distinction, and without cosseting and pampering for the better born.

3 See Appendix VII, p. 349.

plus propinquorum, quanto maior adfinium numerus tanto gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia.[1]

21 Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est; nec inplacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem.

Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit. cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. notum ignotumque quantum ad ius hospitis nemo discernit. abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi in vicem eadem facilitas. gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur.

22 Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. lauti cibum capiunt: separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius

[1] Tacitus scoffs at the courtship paid in Rome to *orbitas*, *i.e.* to the old and childless.

the more relations a man has and the larger the number of his connections by marriage, the more influence has he in his age; it does not pay to have no ties.[1]

It is incumbent to take up a father's feuds or a kinsman's not less than his friendships; but such feuds do not continue unappeasable: even homicide is atoned for by a fixed number of cattle and sheep, and the whole family thereby receives satisfaction, to the public advantage; for feuds are more dangerous among a free people.

No race indulges more lavishly in hospitality and entertainment: to close the door against any human being is a crime. Every one according to his property receives at a well-spread board: should it fail, he who had been your host points out your place of entertainment and goes with you. You go next door, without an invitation, but it makes no difference; you are received with the same courtesy. Stranger or acquaintance, no one distinguishes them where the right of hospitality is concerned. It is customary to speed the parting guest with anything he fancies. There is the same readiness in turn to ask of him: gifts are their delight, but they neither count upon what they have given, nor are bound by what they have received.

On waking from sleep, which they generally prolong into the day, they wash, usually in warm water, since winter bulks so large in their lives: after washing they take a meal, seated apart, each at his own table: then, arms in hand, they proceed to business, or, just as often, to revelry. To out-drink the day and night is a reproach to no man: brawls are frequent; naturally, among heavy drinkers: they seldom terminate with abuse, more often in wounds

caede et vulneribus transiguntur. sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat. gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens. postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est: deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

23 Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus: proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera aut lac concretum: sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

24 Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem: quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive

and bloodshed; nevertheless the mutual reconciliation of enemies, the forming of family alliances, the appointment of chiefs, the question even of war or peace, are usually debated at these banquets; as though at no other time were the mind more open to obvious, or better warmed to larger, thoughts. The people are without craft or cunning, and expose in the freedom of revelry the heart's previous secrets; so every mind is bared to nakedness: on the next day the matter is handled afresh; so the principle of each debating season is justified: deliberation comes when they are incapable of pretence, but decision when they are secure from illusion.

For drink they use the liquid distilled from barley or wheat, after fermentation has given it a certain resemblance to wine. The tribes nearest the river also buy wine. Their diet is simple: wild fruit, fresh venison, curdled milk. They banish hunger without sauce or ceremony, but there is not the same temperance in facing thirst: if you humour their drunkenness by supplying as much as they crave, they will be vanquished through their vices as easily as on the battlefield.[1]

Their shows are all of one kind, and the same whatever the gathering may be: naked youths, for whom this is a form of professional acting, jump and bound between swords and upturned spears. Practice has made them dexterous and dexterity graceful; yet not for hire or gain: however daring be the sport, the spectator's pleasure is the only price they ask. Gambling, one may be surprised to find, they practise in all seriousness in their sober hours, with such

[1] Tacitus does not mean that such was the deliberate policy of Rome, but rather a possible result of the weakness of primitive races.

temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. victus voluntariam servitutem adit : quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior adligari se ac venire patitur. ea est in re prava pervicacia ; ipsi fidem vocant. servos condicionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant.

25 Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem, discriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur : suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus hactenus paret : cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coërcere rarum : occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur. ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt : apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

1 *Colonus* came in time to mean "serf," which seems to suit the context here ; but Tacitus is either anticipating the later meaning of *colonus* or is suggesting a false analogy between

recklessness in winning or losing that, when all else has failed, they stake personal liberty on the last and final throw : the loser faces voluntary slavery : though he be the younger and the stronger man, he suffers himself to be bound and sold ; such is their persistence in wrong-doing, or their good faith, as they themselves style it. Slaves so acquired they trade, in order to deliver themselves, as well as the slave, from the humiliation involved in such victory.

Their other slaves are not organised in our fashion : that is, by a division of the services of life among them. Each of them remains master of his own house and home: the master requires from the slave as serf [1] a certain quantity of grain or cattle or clothing. The slave so far is subservient ; but the other services of the household are discharged by the master's wife and children. To beat a slave and coerce him with hard labour and imprisonment is rare : if they are killed, it is not usually to preserve strict discipline, but in a fit of fury, like an enemy, except that there is no penalty to be paid.

Freedmen are not much above slaves : rarely are they of any weight in the household, never in politics, except at least in those states which have kings : then they climb above the free-born and above the nobles : in other states the disabilities of the freedman are the evidence of freedom.

To charge interest and to extend the same to usury [2] is unknown, and the principle accordingly better observed than if there had been actual prohibition.

the *colonus* of his time and the German "serf." The passage illustrates his carelessness about legal and constitutional technicalities.

2 The word "usury" seems here to be used precisely in the popular sense which it bears to-day, of extravagant rates of interest.

26 Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum; ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. agri pro numero cultorum ab universis vicis [1] occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur; facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

27 Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adicitur. sepulcrum caespes erigit: monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quaeque nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

28 Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus aucto-

[1] vicis, *one MS.* (*Bamberginensis*), *F.*; [vices], *Vatican MS.* (*C*) *and H.*; in vices, *Vatican MS.* (*B*).

Land is taken up by a village as a whole, in quantity according to the number of the cultivators: they then distribute it among themselves on the basis of rank, such distribution being made easy by the extent of domain occupied. They change the arable land yearly, and there is still land to spare, for they do not strain the fertility and resources of the soil by tasking them, through the planting of vineyards, the setting apart of water-meadows, the irrigation of vegetable gardens. Grain is the only harvest required of the land; accordingly the year itself is not divided into as many parts as with us: winter, spring, summer have a meaning and name; of autumn[1] the name alike and bounties are unknown.

In burial there is no ostentation: the single observance is to burn the bodies of their notables with special kinds of wood. They build a pyre, but do not load it with palls or spices: to each man his armour; to the fire of some his horse also is added. The tomb is a mound of turf: the difficult and tedious tribute of a monument they reject as too heavy on the dead. Weeping and wailing they put away quickly: sorrow and sadness linger. Lamentation becomes women: men must remember.

So much in general we have ascertained concerning the origin of the undivided Germans and their customs. I shall now set forth the habits and customs of the several races, and the extent to which they differ from each other; and explain what tribes have migrated from Germany to the Gallic provinces.

That the fortunes of the Gaul were once higher

[1] Similarly, our own words for the seasons are all native words, except autumn, which is Latin; "fall," now American, was not English before (or after) the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similarly, "herbst" is said to be late German.

rum divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos: quantulum enim amnis obstabat quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. manet adhuc Boihaemi nomen significatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone institutis moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa adfectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine

[1] According to Latham (*Germania*, p. 92), Boihaemum rather represents the modern Bavaria than Bohemia.

[2] The Romans explain the name "Germani" as meaning

than the German is recorded on the supreme authority of Julius of happy memory, and therefore it is easy to believe that the Gauls even crossed over into Germany: small chance there was of the river preventing each tribe, as it became powerful, from seizing and taking in exchange new land, still held in common, and not yet divided into powerful kingdoms: accordingly the country between the Hercynian forest and the rivers Rhine and Moenus was occupied by the Helvetii, and the country beyond by the Boii, both Gallic races: the name Boihaemum [1] still subsists and testifies to the old traditions of the place, though there has been a change of occupants.

Whether, however, the Aravisci migrated into Pannonia from the Osi, or the Osi into Germany from the Aravisci, must remain uncertain, since their speech, habits, and type of character are still the same: originally, in fact, there was the same misery and the same freedom on either bank of the river, the same advantages and the same drawbacks.

The Treveri and Nervi conversely go out of their way in their ambition to claim a German origin, as though this illustrious ancestry delivers them from any affinity with the indolent Gaul.[2]

On the river bank itself are planted certain peoples indubitably German: Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Not even the Ubii, though they have earned the right to be a Roman colony and prefer to be called "Agrippinenses," from the name of their founder, blush to own their German origin: they originally came from

the pure or undemoralised Germans, as distinct from the demoralised Germans of Gaul; it seems, however, only a difference of degree to the mind of Tacitus, who dwells also on the indolence of the German.

erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

29 Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo acrius animantur.

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danuviumque consederint, eos qui decumates agros exercent: levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum

1 Modern Hesse; the names Hesse and Chatti are the same.
2 The *limes* was the artificial frontier joining the gap

beyond the river, and were placed in charge of the bank itself, after they had given proof of their loyalty, in order to block the way to others, not in order to be under supervision.

Of all these races the most manly are the Batavi, who occupy only a short stretch of the river bank, but with it the island in the stream: they were once a tribe of the Chatti,[1] and on account of a rising at home they crossed the river for those lands which were to make them part of the Roman Empire. Their distinction persists and the emblem of their ancient alliance with us: they are not insulted, that is, with the exaction of tribute, and there is no tax-farmer to oppress them: immune from burdens and contributions, and set apart for fighting purposes only, they are reserved for war, to be, as it were, our arms and weapons. Equally loyal are the tribe of the Mattiaci; for the greatness of the Roman nation has projected the awe felt for our Empire beyond the Rhine, and beyond the long-established frontier. So by site and territory they belong to their own bank, but by sentiment and thought they act with us, and correspond in all respects with the Batavi, except that hitherto both the soil and climate of their land of themselves stimulate to greater animation.

I should not count among the people of Germany, though they have established themselves beyond the Rhine and Danube, the tribes who cultivate "the tithe-lands." All the wastrels of Gaul, plucking courage from misery, took possession of that debateable land: latterly, since the frontier line has been driven [2] and the garrisons pushed forward, these lands have been

between the two natural frontiers, the Rhine and the Danube: it was a narrow path planted with a barricade in which at set intervals were forts.

occupavere; mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

30 Ultra hos Chatti: initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu incohatur, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor. multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant: alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum. rari excursus et fortuita pugna. equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parere victoriam, cito cedere: velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

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1 See Ch. 38 and Appendix IX, p. 350; they seem to be the Suebi of Caesar, *i.e.* Caesar uses the generic name which the Gauls gave to various German peoples on the Rhine; their

counted an outlying corner of the Empire and a part of the Roman province.

Beyond these people are the Chatti:[1] the front of their settlements begins with the Hercynian forest. The land is not so low and marshy as the other states of the level German plain; yet even where the hills cover a considerable territory they gradually fade away, and so the Hercynian forest, after escorting its Chatti to the full length of their settlement, drops them in the plain. This tribe has hardier bodies than the others, close-knit limbs, a forbidding expression, and more strength of intellect: there is much method in what they do, for Germans at least, and much shrewdness. They elect magistrates and listen to the man elected; know their place in the ranks and recognise opportunities; reserve their attack; have a time for everything; entrench at night; distrust luck, but rely on courage; and—the rarest thing of all, which only Roman discipline has been permitted to attain—depend on the initiative of the general rather than on that of the soldier.[2] Their whole strength lies in their infantry, whom they load with iron tools and baggage, in addition to their arms: other Germans may be seen going to battle, but the Chatti go to war. Forays and casual fighting are rare with them: the latter method no doubt is part of the strength of cavalry—to win suddenly, that is, and as suddenly to retire; for the speed of cavalry is near allied to panic, but the deliberate action of infantry is more likely to be resolute.

geographical position in Hesse favours their identity with Caesar's Suebi.

2 Tacitus is implicitly contrasting the initiative and self-reliance of the native or colonial trooper with the machine-like discipline of the Roman legionary; his verdict is in favour of the discipline of the regulars and against the colonials.

31 Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi rettulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt: ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus, iamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec prima semper acies, visu nova: nam ne in pace quidem cultu mitiore mansuescunt. nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

32 Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipi ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec maior apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tencteris equitum. sic instituere maiores: posteri imitantur. hi lusus infantium, haec

The ceremony, practised by other German peoples only occasionally, and by individual hardihood, has with the Chatti become a convention, to let the hair and beard grow when a youth has attained manhood, and to put off that facial garb which is due and dedicate to manliness only after an enemy has been slain: standing above the sanguinary spoil, they dismantle their faces again, and advertise that then and not before have they paid the price of their birth-pangs, and are worthy of their kin and country. Cowards and weaklings remain unkempt. The bravest also wear a ring of iron—the badge of shame on other occasions among this people—in token of chains, until each man frees himself by the slaughter of an enemy: this symbolism is very popular, and men already growing grey still wear this uniform for the pointing finger of friend and foe. Every battle begins with these men: the front rank is made up of them and is a curious sight. Nay, even in peace they allow no tamer life to enervate them. None of them has house or land or any business: wherever they present themselves they are entertained, wasteful of the substance of others, indifferent to personal possessions, until age and loss of blood make them unequal to heroism so hardy.

Next to the Chatti come the Usipi and Tencteri, on the Rhine banks where the river has ceased to shift its bed and has become fit to serve for a frontier. The Tencteri, in addition to the general reputation of the race as warriors, excel in the accomplishments of trained horsemen. The fame of the Chattan infantry is not greater than that of *their* cavalry: their ancestors established the precedent; succeeding generations vie with them: here lies the diversion

iuvenum aemulatio: perseverant senes. inter familiam et penates et iura successionum equi traduntur: excipit filius, non ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

33 Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios inmigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum, seu superbiae odio seu praedae dulcedine seu favore quodam erga nos deorum; nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere. super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui, quando vergentibus[1] imperii fatis nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

34 Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgubnii et Chasuarii cludunt aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae, a fronte Frisii excipiunt. maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa temptavimus; et superesse adhuc Her-

[1] vergentibus, *Lipsius*; urguentibus, *Vatican MS.* (*B*), *F.*, *H.*; in urguentibus, *Vatican MS.* (*C*).

of infancy, the rivalry of youth, and the abiding interest of age. Horses descend with servants, house, and regular inheritance; but the heir to the horse is not, as in other things, the eldest son, but the confident soldier and the better man.

Originally next the Tencteri one came across the Bructeri: the Chamavi and Angrivarii are said to have trekked thither recently, after the Bructeri had been expelled or cut to pieces by the conjoint action of neighbouring peoples, whether from disgust at their arrogance or from the attractions of plunder, or because Heaven leans to the side of Rome. Nay, Heaven did not even grudge us a dramatic battle: over sixty thousand men fell, not before the arms and spears of Rome, but—what was even a greater triumph for us—merely to delight our eyes. Long may it last, I pray, and persist among the nations, this—if not love for us—at least hatred for each other: since now that the destinies of the Empire have passed their zenith, Fortune can guarantee us nothing better than discord among our foes.[1]

The Angrivarii and Chamavi are closed to the south by the Dulgubnii and the Chasuarii and other tribes not so well known to history. To the north follow the Frisii: they are called the Greater or Lesser Frisii according to the measure of their strength: these two tribes border the Rhine down to the ocean, and also fringe the great lakes which the fleets of Rome navigate. Nay, in that quarter we have essayed the ocean itself, and beyond our range rumour has published the existence of pillars of Hercules:[2]

1 See Appendix VIII, p. 350. The battle here referred to cannot be identified; the date must have been after A.D. 70 (*F.*).

2 All boulders rising from the sea at critical places, such as straits, were ascribed to the active hands of Hercules, the first builder of natural lighthouses.

culis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem eius referre consensimus. nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. mox nemo temptavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

35 Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus; in septentrionem ingenti flexu recedit. ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. tam inmensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. sine cupididate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per iniurias adsequuntur; prompta tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat, exercitus,[1] plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.

36 In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt: idque iucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter inpotentes

[1] ac, si res poscat exercitus, *MSS.*; ac, si res poscat [exercitus] plurimum, *&c.*, *F.*, *H.*

whether it be that Hercules visited those shores, or because we have agreed to enter all marvels everywhere to his credit. Nor did Drusus Germanicus lack audacity, but Ocean vetoed inquiry alike touching itself and touching Hercules; and soon the attempt was abandoned, and it was voted more religious and more reverent to believe in the works of Deity than to comprehend them.

Hitherto we have been inquiring into Western Germany. At this point the country falls away with a great bend towards the north, and first of all come the Chauci. Though they start next the Frisii and occupy part of the seaboard, they also border on all of the tribes just mentioned, and finally edge away south as far as the Chatti. This vast block of territory is not merely held by the Chauci, but filled by them. They are the noblest of the German tribes, and so constituted as to prefer to protect their vast domain by justice alone: they are neither grasping nor lawless; in peaceful seclusion they provoke no wars and despatch no raiders on marauding forays; the special proof of their sterling strength is, indeed, just this, that they do not depend for their superior position on injustice; yet they are ready with arms, and, if circumstances should require, with armies, men and horses in abundance; so, even though they keep the peace, their reputation does not suffer.

Bordering the Chauci and the Chatti are the Cherusci.[1] For long years they have been unassailed and have encouraged an abnormal and languid peacefulness. It has been a pleasant rather than a sound policy: with lawlessness and strength on either side

1 Occupying the modern Brunswick. Under Arminius they defeated Varus and his legions in A.D. 9.

et validos falso quiescas : ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris[1] sunt. ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur : Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

37 Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. sescentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone consulibus. ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Traiani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur : tam diu Germania vincitur. medio tam longi aevi spatio multa in vicem damna. non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere : quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. quid enim aliud nobis quam

[1] superioris, *F.*; superiori, *H.*

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[a] Tacitus perhaps means farthest to the north of this peninsula, in modern Denmark. The name Cimbri was once identified with Cymry, as though the race were Celts, although opinion in antiquity was divided.

of you, you will find peacefulness vanity; where might is right, self-control and righteousness are titles reserved for the stronger. Accordingly, the Cherusci, who were once styled just and generous, are now described as indolent and blind, while the good luck of the victorious Chatti has been counted to them for wisdom. The fall of the Cherusci dragged down the Fosi also, a neighbouring tribe: they share the adversity of the Cherusci on even terms, though they had only been dependents in their prosperity.

This same "sleeve" or peninsula of Germany is the home of the Cimbri, who dwell nearest the ocean [a]—a small state to-day, but rich in memories. Broad traces of their ancient fame are still extant—a spacious camp on each bank (of the Rhine), by the circuit of which you can even to-day measure the multitudes and manual skill of the tribes and the evidences of that mighty "trek."

Our city was in its six hundred and fortieth year when the Cimbrian armies were first heard of, in the consulship of Caecilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo. If we count from that date to the second consulship of the Emperor Trajan, the total amounts to about two hundred and ten years: for that length of time has the conquest of Germany been in process. Between the beginning and end of that long period there have been many mutual losses: neither Samnite nor Carthaginian, neither Spain nor Gaul, nor even the Parthians have taught us more lessons. The German fighting for liberty has been a keener enemy than the absolutism of Arsaces. What taunt, indeed, has the East for us, apart from the overthrow of Crassus—the East

caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro, infra Ventidium deiectus Oriens obiecerit ? at Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione Gnaeoque Mallio fusis vel captis quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt: mox ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum expugnatis legionum hibernis etiam Gallias adfectavere; ac rursus inde pulsi proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

38 Nunc de Suebis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suebi vocentur. insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: sic Suebi a ceteris Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur. in aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod saepe accidit, imitatione, rarum et intra iuventae spatium; apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retorquent, ac saepe in ipso vertice religant; principes et ornatiorem habent. ea cura formae, sed

1 In 38 B.C., and apparently on the same day and month on which, fifteen years before (June 9), Crassus had fallen at Carrhae. To fall at the feet of Ventidius was particularly humiliating, for he had risen from the ranks. Pacorus was the son of the Parthian king.

which itself fell at the feet of a Ventidius[1] and lost Pacorus?

But the Germans routed or captured Carbo and Cassius and Aurelius Scaurus and Servilius Caepio and Gnaeus Mallius, and wrested five consular armies in one campaign from the people of Rome, and even from a Caesar wrested Varus and three legions with him. Nor was it without paying a price that Marius smote them in Italy, and Julius of happy memory in Gaul, and Drusus, Nero, and Germanicus in their own homes. Soon after the prodigious tragedy advertised by Gaius Caesar turned into a farce; then came peace, until, on the opportunity offered by our dissensions and by civil war, they carried the legions' winter quarters by storm and even aspired to the Gallic provinces; finally, after being repulsed thence, they have even in recent years gratified us with more triumphs than victories.

Now I must treat of the Suebi,[2] in whom are comprised not one tribe only, as with the Chatti and the Tencteri; for they occupy the greater part of Germany, and are still distinguished by special national names, though styled in general Suebi. One mark of the race is to comb the hair back over the side of the face and tie it low in a knot behind: this distinguishes the Suebi from other Germans, and the free-born of the Suebi from the slave. In other tribes, whether from some relationship to the Suebi, or, as often happens, from imitation, the same thing may be found; but it is rare and confined to the period of youth. Among the Suebi, even till the hair is grey, they twist the rough locks backward, and often knot them on the very crown: the chieftains wear theirs somewhat more ornamentally, to this extent

[2] See Appendix IX, p. 350.

innoxia; neque enim ut ament amenturve, in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella comptius hostium [1] oculis ornantur.

39 Vetustissimos nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coëunt caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. est et alia luco reverentia: nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur. eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. adicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum: centum pagi iis habitantur, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput credant.

40 Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis ac periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuitones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. nec

[1] comptius hostium, *Lachmann, F.*; compti ut hostium, *MSS.*; compti [ut] hostium, *H.*

interested in appearances, but innocently so. It is not for making love or being made love to; but men who are to face battle are—in the eyes of foemen—more decoratively adorned if they attain a certain terrifying height.

They describe the Semnones as the most ancient and best-born tribe of the Suebi: this evidence of their antiquity is confirmed by religion: at fixed seasons all the tribes of the same blood gather through their delegations at a certain forest—

> "Haunted by visions beheld by their sires and the awe of the ages" [1]

—and after publicly offering up a human life, they celebrate the grim "initiation" of their barbarous worship. There is a further tribute which they pay to the grove: no one enters it until he has been bound with a chain: he puts off his freedom, and advertises in his person the might of the deity: if he chance to fall, he must not be lifted up or rise—he must writhe along the ground until he is out again: the whole superstition comes to this, that it was here where the race arose, here where dwells the god who is lord of all things; everything else is subject to him and vassal. The prosperity of the Semnones enforces the idea: they occupy one hundred cantons, and from their weight it results that they consider themselves the head of the Suebi.

The Langobardi, conversely, are illustrious by lack of number: set in the midst of numberless and powerful tribes, they are delivered not by submissiveness, but by peril and pitched battle. Then come the Reudigni and the Aviones, and the Anglii, and the Varini, the Eudoses and Suardones and Nuithones.

[1] Tacitus writes or quotes (or slips into) an hexameter line

quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum; attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. is adesse penetrali deam intellegit vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

41 Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur: propior, ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar, Hermundurorum civitas, fida Rōmanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. passim

These tribes are protected by forests and rivers, nor is there anything noteworthy about them individually, except that they worship in common Nerthus, or Mother Earth, and conceive her as intervening in human affairs, and riding in procession through the cities of men. In an island of the ocean is a holy grove, and in it a consecrated chariot, covered with robes: a single priest is permitted to touch it: he interprets the presence of the goddess in her shrine, and follows with deep reverence as she rides away drawn by cows: then come days of rejoicing, and all places keep holiday, as many as she thinks worthy to receive and entertain her. They make no war, take no arms: every weapon is put away; peace and quiet are then, and then alone, known and loved, until the same priest returns the goddess to her temple, when she has had her fill of the society of mortals. After this the chariot and the robes, and, if you are willing to credit it, the deity in person, are washed in a sequestered lake: slaves are the ministrants and are straightway swallowed by the same lake: hence a mysterious terror and an ignorance full of piety[1] as to what that may be which men only behold to die.

These sections of the Suebi extend into the more secluded parts of Germany; nearer to us—to follow the course of the Danube, as before I followed the Rhine—comes the state of the Hermunduri: they are loyal to Rome, and with them alone of Germans business is transacted not on the river bank, but far within the frontier in the most thriving colony of the province of Rhaetia. They cross the river everywhere without supervision; and while we let other peoples

[1] For the sardonic touch compare the close of ch. 34 Ignorance is the mother of piety, or piety the mother of ignorance—it is not clear which.

sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. in Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

42 Iuxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsis olim Boiis virtute parta. nec Naristi Quadive degenerant. eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danuvio praecingitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus (iam et externos patiuntur), sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent.

43 Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt. e quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suebos referunt: Cotinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur. partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt: Cotini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt. omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et

[1] The "forward" policy at Rome had designed the Elbe for part of the frontier, and had explored it. But after the

see only our fortified camps, to them we have thrown open our houses and homes, because they do not covet them. Among the Hermunduri rises the River Albis—a river once known and famous; now a name only.[1]

Next the Hermunduri are the Naristi and then the Marcomani and the Quadi. The fame and strength of the Marcomani are outstanding: their very home was won by prowess, through the expulsion in ancient times of the Boii. Nor are the Naristi and Quadi inferior to them: these tribes are, so to speak, the brow of Germany, so far as Germany is wreathed by the Danube. The Marcomani and the Quadi retained kings of their own race down to our time—the noble houses of Maroboduus and Tudrus: now they submit to foreign kings also; but the force and power of their kings rest on the influence of Rome. Occasionally they are assisted by our armed intervention: more often by subsidies, out of which they get as much help.

Behind them are the Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, and Buri, enclosing the Marcomani and Quadi from the rear: among them the Marsigni and Buri in language and culture recall the Suebi: as for the Cotini and Osi, the Gallic tongue of the first and the Pannonian of the second prove them not to be Germans; so does their submission to tribute. This tribute is imposed upon them as foreigners in part by the Sarmatae, in part by the Quadi. The Cotini, to their shame, have even iron-mines to work.[2] All these peoples have little level land, but occupy the defiles and summits and

destruction of Varus in A.D. 9 the frontier remained on the Rhine and Danube.

2 And therefore ought to have been able to manufacture arms, instead of tamely paying tribute.

vertices montium iugumque insederunt. dirimit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanarvalos. apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur. ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum adspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.

44 Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur, paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

ridges of mountains. In fact, a continuous range parts and cuts Suebia in two.

Beyond the range are many races: the most widely diffused name is that of the Lugii, which extends over several states. It will be sufficient to have named the strongest: these are the Harii, Helvecones, Manimi, Elisii, Nahanarvali. Among the Nahanarvali is shown a grove, the seat of a prehistoric ritual: a priest presides in female dress; but according to the Roman interpretation the gods recorded in this fashion are Castor and Pollux: that at least is the spirit of the godhead here recognised, whose name is the Alci.[1] No images are in use; there is no sign of foreign superstition: nevertheless they worship these deities as brothers and as youths.

But to return. The Harii, apart from the strength in which they surpass the peoples just enumerated, are fierce in nature, and trick out this natural ferocity by the help of art and season: they blacken their shields and dye their bodies; they choose pitchy nights for their battles; by sheer panic and darkness they strike terror like an army of ghosts. No enemy can face this novel and, as it were, phantasmal vision: in every battle after all the eye is conquered first.

Beyond the Lugii is the monarchy of the Gotones: the hand upon the reins closes somewhat tighter here than among the other tribes of Germans, but not so tight yet as to destroy freedom. Then immediately following them and on the ocean are the Rugii and Lemovii. The distinguishing features of all these tribes are round shields, short swords, and a submissive bearing before their kings.

[1] The Latin *Alcis* here may be nominative singular or dative plural. See Appendix X, p. 351.

Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano, praeter viros armaque classibus valent. forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit. nec velis ministrant nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt: solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi. nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

45 Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope inmotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortum edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et radios cap-

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1 Tacitus' Germany includes not merely Holland and Denmark (chs. 34, 35, and 37), but also Sweden (the Suiones).

2 Apparently like the lumbermen's "caravels" sometimes seen in the backwoods of Canada.

3 The Baltic. For the picture of it compare *Agricola*, ch. 10. The account of Tacitus comes through Strabo from Pytheas, the Greek of Marseilles, 330 B.C.

4 The halo round the sun's head or "the spikes of his

Beyond these tribes the states of the Suiones,[1] not on, but in, the ocean, possess not merely arms and men but powerful fleets: the style of their ships differs in this respect, that there is a prow at each end, with a beak ready to be driven forwards; they neither work it with sails, nor add oars in banks to the side: the gearing of the oars is detached as on certain rivers, and reversible as occasion demands, for movement in either direction.[2]

Among these peoples, further, respect is paid to wealth, and one man is accordingly supreme, with no restrictions and with an unchallenged right to obedience; nor is there any general carrying of arms here, as among the other Germans: rather they are locked up in charge of a warder, and that warder a slave. The ocean forbids sudden inroads from enemies; and, besides, bands of armed men, with nothing to do, easily become riotous: it is not to the king's interest to put a noble or a freeman or even a freedman in charge of the arms.

Beyond the Suiones is another sea,[3] sluggish and almost motionless, with which the earth is girdled and bounded: evidence for this is furnished in the brilliance of the last rays of the sun, which remain so bright from his setting to his rising again as to dim the stars: faith adds further that the sound of his emergence is audible and the forms of his horses visible, with the spikes of his crown.[4]

crown" are sometimes explained as interpretations of the Aurora Borealis. "The forms of his horses" rather tends to discredit such rationalism. The subjective element predominates, nor is it weakened, to say the least, if *deorum* (the reading of the MSS.) be substituted for the conjectural *equorum*; but the plural seems much more applicable to the horses than to the number of persons involved in the godhead of the sun.

itis adspici persuasio adicit. illuc usque, et fama vera, tantum [1] natura. ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Britannicae propior. matrem deum venerantur. insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omnique tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostis praestat. rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glaesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. sucum tamen arborum esse intellegas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interiacent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque

[1] usque, et fama vera, tantum, *MSS.*, *F.*; usque, si fama vera, tantum, *H.*

So far (and here rumour speaks the truth), and so far only, does Nature reach.

Accordingly we must now turn to the right-hand shore of the Suebic Sea:[1] here it washes the tribes of the Aestii; their customs and dress are Suebic, but their language is nearer British.[2]

They worship the mother of the gods: as an emblem of that superstition they wear the figures of wild boars: this boar takes the place of arms or of any other protection, and guarantees to the votary of the goddess a mind at rest even in the midst of foes. They use swords rarely, clubs frequently. Grain and other products of the earth they cultivate with a patience out of keeping with the lethargy customary to Germans: nay, they ransack the sea also, and are the only people who gather in the shallows and on the shore itself the amber, which they call in their tongue "glaesum."

Nor have they, being barbarians, inquired or learned what substance or process produces it: nay, it lay there long among the rest of the flotsam and jetsam of the sea, until Roman luxury gave it a name. To the natives it is useless: it is gathered crude; is forwarded to Rome unshaped: they are astonished to be paid for it. Yet you may infer that it is the exudation of trees: certain creeping and even winged creatures are continually found embedded: they have been entangled in its liquid form, and, as the material hardens, are imprisoned. I should suppose therefore that, just as in the secluded places of the East, where frankincense and balsam are exuded, so in the islands

[1] See Appendix IX, p. 350. Latham assumes the chance identity of the adjective in "Suebic Sea" with the Suebic tribes of Silesia. Suebic in the former case he supposes to be from Suiones rather than from Suebi.

[2] See Appendix XI, p. 352.

inesse crediderim, quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. si naturam sucini admoto igni temptes, in modum taedae accenditur alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.

Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant.

46 Hic Suebiae finis. Peucinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. sordes omnium ac torpor: ora procerum conubiis mixtis[1] nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt; nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur latrociniis pererrant. hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu et pernicitate gaudent: quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubili humus: solae in sagittis opes,

[1] ora procerum conubiis mixtis, *F.*, *H.*; procerum conubiis mixtos, *MSS.*

and lands of the West there are groves and glades more than ordinarily luxuriant: these are tapped and liquefied by the rays of the sun, as it approaches, and ooze into the nearest sea, whence by the force of tempests they are stranded on the shores opposite: if you try the qualities of amber by setting fire to it, it kindles like a torch and feeds an oily and odorous flame, and soon dissolves into something like pitch and resin.

Adjacent to the Suiones come the tribes of the Sitones, resembling them in all other respects, and differing only in this, that among them the woman rules:[1] to this extent they have fallen lower not merely than freeman but even than slaves.

Here Suebia ends. As for the tribes of the Peucini, Venedi, and Fenni, I am in doubt whether to count them as Germans or Sarmatians. Though the Peucini, whom some men call Bastarnae, in language, culture, fixity of habitation, and house-building, conduct themselves as Germans, all are dirty and lethargic: the faces of the chiefs, too, owing to intermarriage, wear to some extent the degraded aspect of Sarmatians: while the Venedi have contracted many Sarmatian habits; they are caterans, infesting all the hills and forests which lie between the Peucini and the Fenni.

And yet these peoples are preferably entered as Germans, since they have fixed abodes, and carry shields, and delight to use their feet and to run fast: all of which traits are opposite to those of the Sarmatians, who live in wagons and on horseback.

The Fenni live in astonishing barbarism and disgusting misery: no arms, no horses, no fixed homes; herbs for their food, skins for their clothing, earth for their bed; arrows are all their wealth; for want of

[1] See Appendix XII, p. 353.

quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare; securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. cetera iam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum voltusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medio relinquam.

iron they tip them with bone. This same hunting is the support of the women as well as of the men, for they accompany the men freely and claim a share of the spoil; nor have their infants any shelter against wild beasts and rain, except the covering afforded by a few intertwined branches. To these the hunters return: these are the asylum of age; and yet they think it happier so than to groan over field labour, be cumbered with house-service, and be for ever exchanging their own and their neighbours' goods with alternate hopes and fears. Unconcerned towards men, unconcerned towards Heaven, they have achieved a consummation very difficult: they have nothing even to ask for.[1]

Beyond this all else that is reported is legendary: that the Hellusii and Oxiones have human faces and features, the limbs and bodies of beasts: it has not been so ascertained, and I shall leave it an open question.

[1] Justin, II. 2, 9 (quoted by Professor Gudeman) imitates this passage.

APPENDICES

AGRICOLA

I

ON SOME ROMAN NAMES

In chs. 2 and 45 there seems a difficulty in the Tacitean use of proper names, a difficulty of order between nomen, praenomen, and cognomen.

Professor Gudeman insists that in these chapters Tacitus is transposing the surname or cognomen and writing it first, and that the names were—to write them in our familiar idiom and in our usual Latin order, *i.e.* praenomen, nomen, cognomen—as follows :

Lucius Iunius Rusticus Arulenus,
Publius Clodius Thrasea Paetus,
Helvidius Priscus,
Metius Carus,
Baebius Massa.

The only weak spot in his argument appears to be that on the same line of reasoning we ought to find in this second chapter *Senecioni Herennio* instead of *Herennio Senecioni*; yet even Professor Gudeman does not venture to say that the philosopher's name was in our idiom *Senecio Herennius* : even he assumes, *i.e.*, that in this one case Tacitus has followed the, to us, natural order, and has placed the cognomen *Senecio* last and the nomen or praenomen *Herennius* first.

Mr. Furneaux and Church and Brodribb write

Arulenus Rusticus,
Paetus Thrasea,
Priscus Helvidius,
Carus Metius ;

so far following Tacitus' order; but conversely Mr. Furneaux writes *Baebius Massa.* Church and Brodribb even retain *Massa Baebius,* but further show their uncertainty by writing *Helvidius Priscus* in their note, *Priscus Helvidius* in their translation.

Some further examination of the names seems necessary: what clues are there?

(*a*) *Paetus* is certainly a surname: it means, like *Strabo,* "squint-eyed," and is one of Rome's many grotesque cognomina (compare *Naevius, Naso, Cicero, Scrofa*—the man of warts, the man with the nose, garden stuff, swine). *Paetus* is, indeed, a widespread surname: we read of Publius Aelius Paetus, of Quintus Aelius Paetus, of Lucius Papirius Paetus, and this chapter gives us, I have no doubt, Thrasea Paetus; and in this case Professor Gudeman must be right, and *Thrasea* is a sort of praenomen, or "Christian name" as we used to call it, until this pagan age and the American continent abolished it for "first name." But if so, it is a second praenomen in addition to Publius, written *after* the nomen *Clodius,* as *Publius before* it: it may be a nickname, then: compare (*e*).

(*b*) In the case of *Baebius Massa* there is no strict praenomen. *Baebius* is a gentile name or nomen, and *Massa* is quite obviously the cognomen: here also Professor Gudeman is right.

(*c*) *Helvidius* is a praenomen probably; for *Priscus,*

is certainly a Roman surname or cognomen, and Professor Gudeman is still justified.

(*d*) *Metius* is said to be a praenomen by Freund—we have *Metius Curtius* and *Metius Fufetius:* so *Carus* is the cognomen (for which of course there is plenty of other evidence: it was the surname of Lucretius also)—a further justification of Professor Gudeman.

(*e*) Mauricus and Rusticus are brothers. At first sight the names are praenomina, and *Arulenus* is the true cognomen, as Professor Gudeman asserts; but there is more difficulty here, for Rusticus' name appears to be in full

Lucius Iunius Rusticus Arulenus,

while his brother is styled simply

Iunius Mauricus Arulenus;

and, further, *Rusticus* is often a cognomen. In this same book Tacitus refers to *Fabius Rusticus* the historian: what, then, is the precise use of *Rusticus* here as a name? and why has the philosopher so named four names, including one genuine praenomen, *Lucius,* and one obvious gentile name or nomen, *Iunius?* Was *Rusticus* a nickname in his case, or a sort of second—hyphened in our idiom—cognomen? The fact that it is used as a pendant to *Mauricus,* his brother's name, suggests that both were nicknames and that Mauricus had a praenomen corresponding to his brother's *Lucius,* but not recorded. Professor Gudeman may be broadly right, that *Arulenus* is the real cognomen; but the force of *Rusticus* remains dubious, like the force of *Thrasea* (*a*).

(*f*) There is still left the case of *Herennius Senecio.* Freund takes *Senecio* for a surname, and quotes

other passages from the *Annals* (XIII. 12; XV. 50, 56). Further, he quotes *Herennius* as a gentile name: in this case, then, there is no praenomen on record, only nomen and cognomen, as in the case of *Baebius Massa*.

Since, therefore, Tacitus writes *Massa Baebius* (cognomen, nomen), he *should* write, to be consistent with the other four (or five) cases, *Senecioni Herennio* in ch. 2; whereas we read *Herennio Senecioni*, and the puzzle and inconsistency remain, though chargeable to Tacitus and not to Professor Gudeman. So far as ch. 45 is concerned, where we read *mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus: nos Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus; nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit*, we must assume that we have a praenomen (*Helvidius*), two apparent nicknames (*Mauricus* and *Rusticus*), and then a cognomen (*Senecio*), the philosopher Herennius Senecio not being perhaps to Tacitus a figure as familiar as the others (the two Aruleni and Helvidius Priscus). But this does not explain why in ch. 2 Tacitus has not written *Senecioni Herennio*, and I am ultimately driven to the assumption that probably he did so write, but that our two MSS., going back to the same archetype, have made a slip here, and that Professor Gudeman would have been justified in printing *Senecioni Herennio*. Accordingly I have translated as though that were the text, and then have in every case transposed the names as though Tacitus had consistently given us the cognomen or surname first. What is there in a name? A large (or small) perplexity in this case. *Paetus* we know and *Priscus* we know; but who is this?

As regards Roman names in general, and those of the *Agricola* in particular, the probable conclusion of

the whole matter appears to be somewhat as follows (*vide* Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, and Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, pp. 8–16):

1. Roman nomenclature from the later Republic onwards broke down utterly; names, praenomina, cognomina were confused and multiplied, neither the old sequence nor the old limits of number being observed. Orelli found against one Roman thirty names recorded; more modest men bore such names as

(*a*) *Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, Lucius Valerius Messalla Thrasea Priscus Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio.* In these cases the first of the three cognomina seems the original;

(*b*) But, conversely, *Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus* was originally *Corvinus : Messalla* was won in battle;

(*c*) While in *Caius Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus*, or *Publius Aelius Aelianus* (a patronymic of Aelius) *Archelaus Marcus*, there seems no system, only riot and confusion;

(*d*) And in *Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus Flavus* the two cognomina are inverted even in the same three lines of the same document.

2. Especially were nickname-surnames multiplied and confused—that is, names which, nicknames in origin and thereby confined to an individual and to one life, were yet sometimes transmitted to descendants; just as in the Province of Quebec to-day a peasant sometimes describes himself—even in

legal documents — as Pierre Sans-Gêne, *soi-dit* Letellier.

3. In the *Agricola* in particular *Rusticus* and *Mauricus* were probably nicknames proper (p. 2) rather than surnames, and belonged as individual names to the two men so styled: "the Countryman" and "the Moor"—though the former was a very common nickname, and often was transmitted as a surname, if no other surname existed.

Even Agricola himself and his father Graecinus may well come under this head—may well have been nicknamed "Farmer" and "Greekist."

4. *Thrasea* conversely, though a nickname originally, "Blusterer," early became a surname, like *Celer*, "Swift," and probably is more a hyphened surname—used as a praenomen, however—than a personal nickname in the *Agricola.*

5. Such nicknames or nickname-surnames either preceded the original surname or were appended to it or displaced it altogether, according as (*a*) they dislodged the praenomen and took *its* place, or (*b*) dislodged neither praenomen nor cognomen, or (*c*) became more popular than the cognomen proper. If Tacitus has any consistency in his order of names, we must assume that *Rusticus, e.g.*, became practically a praenomen, dislodging *Lucius* but not dislodging *Arulenus*; and so with *Thrasea* and *Mauricus*; whereas *Agricola* and *Graecinus,* even if also nicknames, yet became cognomina in a sense (in later times such cognomina were styled *agnomina*; they were also styled *vocabula* and *signa*: see Smith's *Dict., ibid.*)—at least to this extent, that even though they be individual names good only for one life, no other cognomen is found surviving with them (as it sur-

vives in the case of *Cornelius Lucius Scipio-Barbatus* or *Marcus Valerius Messalla-Corvinus*). We hear of Agricola only as *Gnaeus Iulius Agricola*; of his father only as *Iulius Graecinus*.

II

CHAP. XXIV

The MSS. here have *differt : in melius : aditus*, &c., *cogniti*, *i.e. differunt in melius : aditus*, &c. [instead of *differunt : in melius aditus* . . . (substantially the text of Furneaux)]. Professor Gudeman ascribes the two words *in melius* to the patriotism of some Irish scribe altering the archetype in some Irish monastery, to glorify the early superiority of Ireland, which already "differs for the better" from the predominant partner. Such a tribute from Tacitus is perhaps not less weighty and conclusive than other evidence for the same thesis. But the explanation proves too much perhaps : on the same line of argument the earlier part of this chapter, which is at least compatible with the invasion of Ireland and defeat of the Irish by Agricola, would have disappeared, and not less the concluding section. There would have been no domestic feuds between Ireland's prehistoric politicians.

III

CHAP. XXVIII

Tacitus with his usual unconcern has not explained the alleged circumnavigation: it was a circumnavigation, and it ended at the Rhine or near it; consequently it started from the west coast of Scotland. But even so it is only by inference that it can be asserted that they sailed north round Cape Wrath: the internal evidence is against this; for Tacitus does not appear to connect at all this circumnavigation with that subsequent one related later in ch. 38, and briefly noticed earlier in ch. 10. On the other hand, Dio Cassius directly connects the two, and asserts that Agricola's deliberate enterprise was suggested by this casual and almost rudderless voyage (Dio. LXVI. 20), but then his version differs so entirely from Tacitus' that it cannot be used to fill up Tacitus' gaps; he makes the meteoric pirates sail from east to west *via* north. Tacitus makes them circumnavigate Britain and end at the Rhine: he does not give us their starting-point, but ch. 25 suggests the east coast rather than the west; while the circumnavigation suggests west rather than east.

IV

CHAP. XXXVIII

See also ch. 10; but unless scholars are mistaken this voyage was not, strictly, a circumnavigation of Britain: it started from some place in Fifeshire or thereabouts, rounded the north coast of Scotland, passed down the west coast sufficiently far to identify places visited in the year 82 A.D. (ch. 24) as well as in the summer of A.D. 83 (ch. 28), during both of which years the Roman fleet had operated on the west coast, and then turned round, passed north again, rounded the north coast again, and came back down the east coast to the same harbour of Trucculum. The only interpretations which would make it a real circumnavigation of Britain would be either (1) to assume that the fleet operating with the army (ch. 25) up to the great victory near Mount Graupius had started from Trucculum on the east coast and sailed south, west, and north, and had been operating since A.D. 82 on the *west* coast, whence it came round by the north to Fifeshire, against which supposition is the repeated reference (in ch. 25) to Bodotria (the Forth); or (2) to assume that the fleet, after a victory on the east coast, returned to Trucculum on the same coast by a voyage round the whole of Northern Scotland and England and Wales, returning to Scotland by way of the southern and eastern coasts of England—a feat almost inconceivable at that time of year, but assumed by Church and Brod-

ribb in their translation (not in their edition of the Latin text). Such are some of the difficulties in which we are landed by Tacitus' indifference to geography.

Vide Introduction, E (2), by "adjacent" (*proximo*) I understand simply "neighbouring," the shore along which the fleet sailed in their coasting voyage; but (*a*) Professor Gudeman takes it to mean "nearest to Rome," *i.e.* (he thinks) the eastern coast of England and Scotland; while (*b*) Church and Brodribb (in their edition of the text) make it "nearest to Bodotria," *i.e.* (again) "eastern." (On my view it could as legitimately mean "western"—or "northern," or "southern," according to context—being simply the shore along which the fleet was at any given time coasting.) But, again, (*c*) the same editors (in their translation) take "proximo" to mean "nearest to Rome," *i.e.* (to them) "southern," *i.e.* a coasting along the whole southern coast of England. Finally, (*d*) that "*proximo*" may box the compass and bear every geographical explanation, the anonymous translation published by Messrs. Kegan Paul makes it mean "the northern coast of Scotland," which the translator thinks might fairly be described as "the neighbouring coast" to a fleet far up on the east shore.

GERMANIA

I

CHAP. III

Barritus is also the word used for the cry of the "rogue" elephant. As used here by Tacitus for the German war-cry, it occurs also in the later writers Ammianus Marcellinus and Vegetius. The word—or one of these words if there be two—still survives in the political sphere as "booing": see M. Hanotaux, *La France Contemporaine,* vol. iv. p. 32: "A la fin un tolle effrayant s'élève à droite: les pupitres battent, les couteaux frappent: on imite les cris d'animaux, on siffle, on aboie, on *barrit*"—that is, the elephantine sense of the word has survived in France. As for the spelling, some of the dictionaries (Lewis and Short, *e.g.*) make *barritus* the cry of the elephant, *baritus* the German war-cry; others (*Le Nouveau Larousse Illustré, e.g.*) appear to identify the two words, or at least to spell each with two "r's." The variant reading *barditus* (Furneaux and Gudeman) has been confused with the Celtic word "bard," but is generally supposed to be from the Scandinavian "bardhi," a shield = the shield-song. This makes admirable sense, but is there sufficient proof of the actual existence of the word *barditus?* It looks like a terminological exactitude, "se non vero, ben trovato," by Tacitus'

commentators. Hatzfeldt-Darmesteter, my colleague Professor I. H. Cameron tells me, recognise "bardit" as a word used in the seventeenth century, and later by Chateaubriand in his *Martyrs*, in the sense of "chant guerrier des Germains." Has this seventeenth-century use any authority independent of the present passage of the *Germania*? If not, Ammianus and Vegetius seem sufficient to turn the scale in favour of *barritus* (or *baritus*).

II

CHAP. VII

A curious controversy has arisen here on the word *exigere*. Mr. Furneaux takes it in the sense of "examine," but as a court of honour or the seconds at a French duel "examine," not as a physician examines: if this be the idea it would be better to translate at once, with Church and Brodribb, "and even demanding them" (as proofs of courage)? Yet a third interpretation makes the word stand for medical examination: Tacitus, that is, is reflecting on the squeamishness of Roman ladies. The translation I have suggested involves the same reflection, but strains much less the natural sense of *exigere* than the third interpretation, while allowing more natural feeling to the German women than the first and second.

III

CHAP. IX

The English and French names for the days of the week as illustrations of the *interpretatio Romana* (see note, pp. 276–7) here break down. Hercules was probably identified by many with Thor; but Thursday = Jeudi shows that Thor was identified also with Jupiter (whence the day in French and English). So Mardi = Tuesday is a sign of a similar confusion; for Tuesday is not merely the day of Tiu, but manifestly, so far as language is concerned, the day of Zeus, not of Mars. Further, since Zeus and Jupiter were identified by the same *interpretatio Romana*, it follows that Thor and Tiu are identical, and Tuesday and Thursday are the same day (to the religious mind).

IV

CHAP. IX

Grimm, followed by Latham, disagrees with Tacitus: they suppose the identification of the local Suebic goddess with Isis to be due, not to the common use of the emblem of a ship in the celebration of spring and the opening of navigation, but to a casual similarity of name. Near Augsburg was the worship of a goddess Cisa or Ziza: her name betrayed her. Then afterwards, when she had already been transformed into Isis, the ritual and ideas of Isis-worship attached themselves to her.

V

CHAP. X

The commentators explain that the eyes are turned to heaven to avoid seeing which slip is taken up. The explanation smacks of the twentieth century. The primitive mind is not likely to have been at once so simple and so material: the celebrant, we must suppose, saw something, as well as escaped seeing something else, when he turned his eyes to heaven: the direction of his gaze was positive no less than negative. We deceive ourselves: did our ancestors do less?

VI

CHAP. XIX

"A woman shall be the wife of one husband" is the German principle. So much is clear, but the restatement of the principle in the concluding words, *ne tanquam maritum sed tanquam matrimonium ament*, looks so inconclusive, if not inconsistent, that Professor Gudeman thinks that the same general sense would be reached more naturally by transposing *matrimonium* and *maritum*: the wife is to be true (it will then mean) to the memory of the husband of her youth; it is he, and not marriage, of which she thinks, therefore for her there is no second marriage. This is plausible and ingenious, perhaps a little too modern and sentimental. Tacitus probably means that in the primitive society of Germany it is marriage, not love, which is set before women, and

having once married, they have fulfilled their destiny and are not encouraged to give rein to mere sentiment; he is taking a side-fling, that is, at Roman feminine sensibility. I have therefore, though not without some scruple, accepted the received text as the better expression of his argument.

VII

CHAP. XX

The passage is obscure, and the obscurity has been increased by mutually inconsistent explanations. One explanation refers us to that *patria potestas* which makes a son the guardian of his sisters after the father's death, as though this would also make him guardian of their children (clearly it would not). Another explanation more naturally quotes the opposite principle of the matriarchate or mother-right, in virtue of which descent is traced through the female line; the maternal uncle (*avunculus*) then will think of his sister's children, of the girls in particular (and Tacitus may include the girls in the word *filiis*, even if he is not specially referring to them), as perpetuating his mother's—that is, his own—family. The very word *avunculus* = maternal uncle = little grandfather—that is, a youthful guardian of children who have neither father nor grandfather living—points in the same direction and seems to be a survival of the matriarchate in Rome.

VIII

CHAP. XXXIII

Vergentibus fatis (Lipsius). The ordinary text *urgentibus* labours under a double difficulty: (*a*) It is so vague that those who adopt it cannot define its meaning, which may be either "drive the Empire forwards"—that is, "into a 'forward' policy"—or "press hard upon it"—that is, "menace its safety." (*b*) Either of these meanings would be more naturally expressed (after Livy, v. 36) by the accusative *urgentibus Imperium fatis* (not *Imperii*). A better rendering of the ordinary text would even be "now that the Nemesis of Empire is at our heels," but to translate so is to strain both the Latin idiom and the ideas of Tacitus: on the other hand, there is abundant evidence that he thought that the best days of Rome were over (see Boissier, *Tacite*, pp. 128–40). Even were there no other evidence, what Mr. Furneaux calls "the dreadful inhumanity" of this chapter of itself proves as much, for it arises obviously from Tacitus' vivid apprehensions of "the German peril" (*eadem sunt omnia semper*) and from the pessimism of his outlook.

IX

CHAP. XXXVIII

Caesar, who does not mention the Chatti, writes continually of the Suebi. It is assumed by Latham and others that the term *Suebi* is a Gallic or Sclavonic name, applied generally to Germans near the

Rhine, but properly belonging rather to the Sclavonic tribes of Saxony and Silesia: Latham explains the name to be identical with Serb and Sorb and Serv (of modern Servia). It was not applied by any Germans to themselves until much later, when in the third century it came to be adopted by the Germans of Baden and Würtemberg, who called themselves Suabians and their land Suabia, whence the modern use. Caesar's Suevi seem geographically to be Chatti; Tacitus' to be broadly Silesians and Saxons geographically. Finally, the extreme geographical extension of the term (we have *Suevicum mare* of the Baltic in ch. 45) is, if Latham be right, one of those chance equivocations which seem designed for the confusion of ethnologists [compare Khan and Hakon (Latham, *Epilegomena*, 64); Gallia, Galatia, and Galicia; Tsar and Caesar; Gotini and Gothones; Burgundians and Bulgarians; Teutonicus and Teudisca (= Theotiscus, Tedesco, Deutsch—the Teutones not being perhaps German at all—Latham, *Epil.*, 81)]. Similarly, the *mare Suevicum* is rather the Swedish sea from the Suiones (ch. 44) than the sea of the Suevi.

X

CHAP. XLIII

The reference to Castor and Pollux suggests that Tacitus means "the Alci," and supposes them to be twin-brothers, "Heavenly Twins," such as those whose worship in some form and name appears in widely different parts of the world: the Oriental Asvins, for example. Conversely, the singular *numini*

in the preceding line is in favour of the translation "Alcis": *numen* has just been used in ch. 40, if not of visible god or goddess, then of their visible emblem, symbol, or totem; at any rate, *not* of that invisible essence, spirit, or divinity such as might conceivably be ascribed even in the singular to twin-deities: yet the line which follows, *ut fratres . . . venerantur*, is so hard to reconcile with Alcis as singular that on the whole it seems best to understand *numen* here in a sense different from that of ch. 40. Tacitus, then, is here writing in his philosophic and theistic mood: the emblems and symbols, even the so-called gods, are legion, but divinity is one (compare ch. 9).

XI

CHAP. XLV

The language, says Latham, was Lithuanian: its nearness to British meant to Tacitus' informants either merely that it was not German, or, as Latham would prefer, that the name of the language was Prussian, and Prussian was confounded with British, either through the similarity of the Latin adjectives Pruthenicus (or Borussicus) and Britannicus, or otherwise and more simply through the resemblance of the national Anglo-Saxon adjectives Bryttisce and Pryttisce and the roots "Brit" and "Prut."

XII

CHAP. XLV

The words *nisi quod femina dominatur* must obviously be translated in the light of the epigram that follows; otherwise in themselves they might simply mean "their present ruler is a woman," or, at most—less tamely, but still too tamely to be the basis for an epigram—"their sovereigns are always women." Read in the light of the following epigram, they can, I think, have but one meaning: "among them the woman rules." So taken the passage is not without difficulty. Tacitus, it appears, cannot resist an epigram, good, bad, or indifferent: the present is indifferently bad, so bad that it looks like the work of a clever imitator; and I should almost be disposed to omit the epigram altogether. The sentiment is scarcely Roman, Tacitean, British, or German (see *Agricola*, chs. 6, 16, and *Germania*, ch. 8)—though Latham dryly remarks that the sentiment is more German than Roman—but suggests some one "who has not yet rounded Cape Turk." Further, for my translation there is not merely the internal evidence of the epigram, but some external evidence also. Legends of an Amazon tribe in this neighbourhood are found in other literature. Alfred the Great refers to them in his *Orosius*, also Adam of Bremen, *De situ Daniae*, 222, both quoted by Latham. If they get the idea from Tacitus, then the translation in the text, right or wrong, is at least the translation of tradition; if they write independently of Tacitus, then the independent tradition which they follow is *prima facie* evidence that Tacitus

has heard the same tradition and is giving it expression, and is not referring merely to a single queen or a line of queens. As for the tradition itself, attempts are made to explain it or explain it away, like other mythology, as "a disease of language": it is argued by Latham, *e.g.*, that the native name of these Finns is Quoen; while the Swedish name for woman is *quinna* (compare γυνή and English quean). Out of this simple equivocation arose the legend of the race of women—or of Amazons—in whose society the part played by men was reduced to the irreducible minimum. The explanation is not easier of belief than the tradition it explains.

INDEX

DIALOGUE ON ORATORY

PROPER NAMES

ACADEMICI, XXX and XXXI. This school of philosophy derived its name from its connection with Plato's Academy (XXXII).

Accius, L., XX and XXI. Tragic poet, 170–84 B.C.

Achaia, XXX. = Greece.

Aeschines, XV and XXV. Attic orator, the rival of Demosthenes.

Afer, Domitius, XIII and XV. A great orator, the teacher and model of Quintilian. He was consul A.D. 39, and died A.D. 59.

Africanus, Julius, XIV and XV. Also a great orator, contemporary with Afer. He was a Gaul by birth.

Agamemnon, IX. Son of Atreus, king of Mycenae, and the subject of one of Maternus's tragedies.

Alexander the Great, XVI. Reigned 336–323 B.C.

Antonius, M., XXXVII. The triumvir, against whom Cicero delivered his 14 Philippics, so-called in imitation of Demosthenes.

Aper, M., II. *See* Introd. pp. 7–8.

Apollodorus of Pergamum, XIX. A professor of rhetoric, circ. 105–23 B.C. He lived mostly at Rome, and taught the youthful Octavianus.

Appius Claudius Caecus, XVIII. Consul 307 and 296, censor 312 B.C., scholar, statesman, jurist, poet, and orator. He built the Via Appia.

Archias, A. Licinius, XXXVII. A poet, born at Antioch in Syria. He was defended by Cicero in 62 B.C., when impeached for wrongful registration as a Roman citizen.

Asinius = C. Asinius Pollio, XII and XXXIV. He wrote tragedies, and also a history of the civil war; 75 B.C. to A.D. 4. *See* Horace, *Odes*, II. 1. As an orator he advocated, like Calvus, the "Attic" style, as against the "Asiatic" verbosity of Cicero.

Asitius, P., XXI. Impeached by Calvus for the murder of an Egyptian envoy, and successfully defended by Cicero.

Atia, XXVIII. Daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Caesar's sister Julia, wife of Octavius, and mother of the Emperor Augustus.

Attius, XXIII. An otherwise unknown orator, whom some identify with Cicero's contemporary Q. Arrius (Brut. § 242).

Augustus, XIII, XVII, XXVIII, XXXVIII. = C. Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus. His reign extended from August 19, 43 B.C., when he entered on his first consulship, to his death August 19, A.D. 14.

Aurelia, XXVIII. Mother of Julius Caesar. She was the daughter of M. Aurelius Cotta.

Bassus, Aufidius, XXIII. He wrote a history of the Empire, down to Claudius; also a narrative of the War in Germany. He died under Nero.

Bassus, Saleius, V, IX, X. An epic poet of some repute, who received an honorarium from Vespasian.

Bestia = L. Calpurnius Bestia, XXXIX. One of the Catilinarian conspirators. In 56 B.C. he was unsuccessfully defended by Cicero on a charge of *ambitus*.

Britannia, XVII.

Brutus = M. Junius Brutus, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXV, XXXVIII, one of Caesar's murderers. Cicero praises his eloquence highly, and he was even more distinguished in philosophy. He gave his name to a rhetorical treatise (XXX) composed in dialogue form by Cicero (46 B.C.).

Caecina, Aulus, XX. Cicero defended him in an extant oration, when he was impeached (69 B.C.) in connection with a case of inheritance.

Caelius = M. Caelius Rufus, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXV, XXVI, XXXVIII. He was an orator of distinction, and a correspondent of Cicero's who defended him in 56 B.C., when he was accused of sedition and attempted poisoning. He lost his life in the civil war, 48 B.C.

Caesar = C. Julius Caesar, XVII, XXI, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXIV, XXXVIII.

Calvus = C. Licinius Macer Calvus, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXXIV, XXXVIII. A poet himself, he was the friend of Catullus, and like Catullus an opponent of Caesar.

Canutius, XXI. Probably P. Canutius, a pleader at the bar, who was a contemporary of Cicero.

Capua, VIII. A city in Campania.

Carbo = C. Papirius Carbo, XVIII, XXXIV. An orator of repute, who at first sided with Tib. Gracchus, but afterwards went over to the constitutional party. Consul 120 B.C.

Cassius Severus, XIX, XXVI. An able pleader, but notorious for his scurrilous lampoons. He was banished under Augustus to Crete, and afterwards to Seriphos where he died in A.D. 34.

Catilina = L. Sergius Catilina, XXXVII. The famous conspirator, against whom in 63 B.C. Cicero delivered his great orations.

Cato = C. Porcius Cato, XXXIV. Impeached by Asinius Pollio in 54 B.C. for maladministration as tribune of the people two years previously. He was acquitted.

Cato = M. Porcius Cato the elder, surnamed the Censor, XVIII. He was consul 195 B.C. Cicero considered him the earliest orator whose compositions deserved attention.

Cato = M. Porcius Cato the younger, surnamed Uticensis, II, III, X. It was the story of his resistance to Julius Caesar, and his death after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.), that Curiatius Maternus, the leading character in the *Dialogus*, fashioned into a tragedy.

Cicero, XII, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXII, XXVI, XXX, XXXII, XXXVIII, XL.

Claudius, XVII. = Tib. Claudius Nero Germanicus, who reigned from A.D. 41 to 54.

Cornelia, XXVIII. The mother of the Gracchi. She was the daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus maior, and the wife of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, the elder.

Cornelius, C., XXXIX. Impeached for "maiestas" by P. Cominius Spoletinus in 65 B.C., and successfully defended by Cicero.

Crassus = L. Licinius Crassus, XVIII, XXVI, XXXIV, XXXV. He was the greatest orator before Cicero, who in the *De Oratore* makes him his mouthpiece. He was consul in 95 B.C., censor in 92, and died in 91.

Crassus = M. Licinius Crassus the triumvir, 114–53 B.C., XXXVII.

Crispus = Q. Vibius Crispus, VIII, XIII. A native of Vercellae in Cisalpine Gaul, he enjoyed great influence under Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian, and used his eloquence as a ready weapon of attack. He was twice *consul suffectus*, and survived till about A.D. 93.

Curiones, XXXVII. Three members of this family are known as orators: the father (praetor in 121 B.C.), the son (consul in 76 B.C.), and the grandson, an adherent of Julius Caesar (tribune in 50 B.C.).

Deiotarus, XXI. Tetrarch of Galatia, with the title of king, and an adherent of Pompeius. Brutus's speech in his defence was delivered in Caesar's presence at Nicaea, 46 B.C., but failed of its object.

Demosthenes, XII, XV, XVI, XXV, XXXII, XXXVII.

Diodotus, XXX. A Stoic philosopher, who lived in Cicero's house in Rome, and died 59 B.C. He was also well-versed in mathematics and music.

Dolabella = Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, XXXIV. He had been consul in 81 B.C., and four years later was impeached by Caesar for extortion in Macedonia.

Domitius = Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, XXXV. He was censor along with Crassus in 92 B.C.

Domitius, III. The title of a tragedy by Maternus. The hero of the piece was probably L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C., and a bitter opponent of Julius Caesar. He was pardoned after the capture of Corfinium, but rejoined the Pompeians and fell at Pharsalus. Others believe that the subject of the tragedy was Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 32 B.C. — the "Enobarbus" of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Drusus, XXI. A friend and client of Cicero, who defended him when prosecuted by Calvus.

Ephesus, XV. City of Ionia.

Epicurus, XXXI. Founder of the Epicurean school of philosophy, 341–270 B.C.

Eprius. *See* Marcellus.

Euripides, XII. Tragic poet, 480–406 B.C.

Fabius Justus = L. Fabius Justus, whose name is inverted to "Justus Fabius" in the first line of the *Dialogus* in accordance with a practice that was common in the Silver Age: a friend of Pliny the younger, as well as of Tacitus, and probably identical with the *consul suffectus* of the year 102 B.C.

Furnius, C., XXI. An orator of the time of Cicero. A son of his was consul, 17 B.C.

GABINIANUS, XXVI. = Sex. Julius Gabinianus, a rhetorician of great repute, and, like Aper, a native of Gaul. He flourished after the middle of the first century A.D.

Gaius, XVII. = Gaius Caesar Germanicus (Caligula), Roman Emperor from A.D. 37 to 41.

Galba, XVIII and XXV. = Servius Sulpicius Galba, a distinguished orator, contemporary with Laelius and Scipio the younger. He was consul 144 B.C.

Galba, XVII. = Servius Sulpicius Galba, emperor from June A.D. 68 to January 69.

Gallio, XXVI. = L. Junius Gallio, a friend of Ovid and the elder Seneca, the latter of whom gives him great praise as a rhetorician. He adopted one of Seneca's sons, who took his name and is the Gallio known to us from the New Testament (Acts xviii. 12).

Gracchi, XXVIII and XL. The brothers Tiberius and Gaius.

Gracchus, C. Sempronius, XVIII and XXVI. The most brilliant orator of his time.

HELVIDIUS, V. = Helvidius Priscus, a Stoic of uncompromising principles, praetor in A.D. 70 and the son-in-law of Paetus Thrasea. *See* Marcellus.

Hermagoras, XIX. Of Temnos, in Mysia, the founder of a new system of rhetoric which Cicero used for his treatise *De Inventione*. He flourished about 160 B.C., and is to be distinguished from a younger rhetorician of the same name, the pupil of Theodorus of Gadara, and a contemporary of Augustus.

Hirtius, XVII. = A. Hirtius, the consul who fell at Mutina, 43 B.C.

Homerus, XII.

Horatius, XX and XXIII.

Hortensius, XVI. The title of a lost dialogue of Cicero, to which he gave the name of his great rival. In it Hortensius seems to have attacked philosophy from the standpoint of an orator, while Cicero defended it.

Hyperides, XII, XVI, XXV. Attic orator, 390–322 B.C.

JASON, IX. The hero whom Medea helped to win the Golden Fleece. He is mentioned in the Dialogue as one of the characters in Maternus's tragedy *Medea*.

Julius. *See* Africanus *and* Secundus.

Justus. *See* Fabius.

LAELIUS, C., XXV. Called *Sapiens*, because of his interest in philosophy. He was also a distinguished orator, and the intimate friend of Scipio the younger.

Lentuli = Cornelii Lentuli, XXXVII. There were no fewer than five members of this family who enjoyed a reputation for oratory in the time of Cicero. They reached the consulship in the years 72, 71, 57, 56, and 49 B.C.

Linus, XII. Mentioned along with Orpheus as a legendary bard. He was lamented in the old Λίνος song, so-called from the refrain αἰ Λίνος, or "woe's me for Linus." All the myths that gather round his name agree in the tradition that he died young.

Lucanus, XX. = M. Annaeus Lucanus, A.D. 39–65, the author of the *Pharsalia*, an epic poem dealing with the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

Lucilius, XXIII. = C. Lucilius, 180–102 B.C., the satiric poet whom Horace made to some extent his model.

Lucretius, XXIII. = T. Lucretius Carus, 98–55 B.C., the author of the great didactic poem, *De Rerum Natura*.

Luculli, XXXVII. = Licinii Luculli. The great commander Lucius, who conquered Mithridates, and was consul in 74 B.C., wrote a history of the Social War in Greek. His brother Marcus was consul in 73.

Lycurgus, XXV. Attic orator, circ. 396–325 B.C.

Lysias, XII and XXV. Attic orator, circ. 450–380 B.C.

MAECENAS, XXVI. = C. Cilnius Maecenas, ob. 8 B.C., the "prime minister" of Augustus, and the patron of Varius, Virgil, Horace, and Propertius.

Marcellus, V, VIII, XIII. = T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus, who gained great influence as a *delator* or informer under Nero, and became *consul suffectus* in A.D. 61. His impeachment of Thrasea Paetus brought him into collision with Thrasea's son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus. After acting as pro-consul in Asia, Marcellus again became *consul suffectus* in A.D. 74, and must therefore have been at the height of his power at the date when the Dialogue is assumed to have taken place. Afterwards, he conspired against Vespasian, and was driven to commit suicide in A.D. 79.

Maternus = Curiatius Maternus, the poet-pleader who figures as the central personage of the Dialogue. *See* Introd. pp. 7 and 11.

Menenius Agrippa, XVII and XXI. The author of the famous apologue of the "Belly and its Members," by which in 494 B.C. he induced the plebeians to return from their secession to the Mons Sacer. He figures in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*.

Messalla, XII, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXI. = M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, 64 B.C.–A.D. 8. Orator, soldier, and statesman. He was consul in 31 B.C. *See* Horace, *Odes* III. 21.

Messalla, XIV. = Vipstanus Messalla, probably a descendant of the foregoing, and in any case a man of noble lineage, born about A.D. 46. He commanded a legion for Vespasian, and wrote a history of the struggle with Vitellius. He was also a great orator. For his part in the Dialogue, *see* Introd. p. 8.

Metelli, XXXVII. = Caecilii Metelli. To this family belonged Metellus Celer and Metellus Nepos, the former of whom was consul in 60 B.C., and the latter in 57 B.C. It was Metellus Nepos who attacked Cicero on the expiry of his consulship in 63.

Metrodorus, XXXI. A distinguished follower of Epicurus, 330-277 B.C.

Milo, XXXVII and XXXIX. = T. Annius Milo, whom Cicero defended unsuccessfully when he was brought to trial for the death of P. Clodius Pulcher in 52 B.C.

Mucianus, XXXVII. = C. Licinius Mucianus, the well-known lieutenant of Vespasian, who brought about his elevation to the purple. He was *consul suffectus* in 66, 70, and 72, and is understood to have died in the course of the year 77.

Mucius, XXX. = Q. Mucius Scaevola, surnamed the Augur, circ. 160–88 B.C. He was the friend and son-in-law of Laelius, and the father-in-law of the orator Crassus. The family to which he belonged had an hereditary talent for law. Cicero studied under him when quite a young man, and after his death under his nephew also, Scaevola Pontifex.

Mytilenae, XV. A city in Lesbos.

Nero, XI and XVII. = Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus, who reigned from A.D. 54 to 68.

Nestor, XVI. Cited by Aper as an ideal example of the oratory of Homeric times.

Nicetes, XV. = Sacerdos Nicetes, a distinguished rhetorician from Smyrna, who had Pliny the Younger for a pupil at Rome.

Nicostratus, X. Of Cilicia, a famous athlete in the earlier part of the first century. In A.D. 50, he was proclaimed victor at Olympia on one and the same day for the παγκράτιον and for wrestling.

Nonianus, XXIII. = M. Servilius Nonianus, orator and historian. He was consul A.D. 35 and died A.D. 60.

Orpheus, XII. Mythical bard, and representative of the Thracian cult of Dionysus.

Otho, XVII. = Marcus Salvius Otho, Emperor from January to April A.D. 69.

Ovidius, XII. = P. Ovidius Naso 43 B.C.–A.D. 17. Of his *Medea* only two lines are extant.

Pacuvius, M., XIX. Roman tragedian, circ. 220–132 B.C.

Pansa, XVII. = C. Vibius Pansa, who fell at Mutina in 43 B.C. along with Hirtius, his colleague in the consulship.

Pedius, Q., XVII. Made *consul suffectus* along with Octavian on August 19, 43 B.C.

Peripatetici, XXXI. Members of the school founded by Aristotle, who wrote on rhetoric, as well as on philosophy.

Philip of Macedon, XVI. Reigned 359–336 B.C.

Philo, XXX. An Academic philosopher, who fled from Athens to Rome during the first Mithridatic war, and taught Cicero philosophy.

Plato, XXXI and XXXII.

Pollio. *See* Asinius.

Pompeius, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XL. = Cn. Pompeius Magnus, the triumvir, 106–48 B.C. He was highly thought of also as an orator and a stylist.

Pomponius. *See* Secundus.

Porcius. *See* Cato.

Quintius, XXXVII. = P. Quintius, defended by Cicero in 61 B.C. on a civil charge. The speech is extant.

Roscius, XX. = Q. Roscius Gallus, a great actor who was also a man of liberal culture. He was on intimate terms with Sulla, Hortensius, as well as with Cicero, who took lessons from him in the

art of declamation, and defended him in an extant oration. He died shortly before 62 B.C.

SACERDOS. *See* Nicetes.

Saleius. *See* Bassus.

Scaurus, XXXIX. = M. Aemilius Scaurus, successfully defended in the year 54 B.C. by six advocates, one of whom was Cicero, on a charge of malversation when praetor in Sardinia two years previously.

Scipio, XL. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus the elder. For the attacks on him in 187 B.C., in connection with his conduct of the war against Antiochus, *see* Livy, 38, 50 *sqq.*

Secundus, II. = Julius Secundus, the friend and contemporary of Quintilian, a native of Gaul, who enjoyed a high reputation for eloquence. For the part he took in the Dialogue, *see* Introduction p. 9.

Secundus, XIII. = P. Pomponius Secundus, a man of affairs as well as a poet of repute. He was *consul suffectus* in A.D. 44, and defeated the Chatti as legatus in Upper Germany in 50. His friend, Pliny the elder, wrote his life in two books.

Servilius. *See* Nonianus.

Severus. *See* Cassius.

Sisenna, XXIII. = L. Cornelius Sisenna, 120–67 B.C. He wrote a history of his own time.

Sophocles, XII. The great tragic poet.

Stoici, XXXI. The "philosophers of the Porch."

Sulla, XL. = L. Cornelius Sulla, dictator, 82–79 B.C.

TIBERIUS, XVII. = Tiberius Claudius Nero, emperor A.D. 14–37.

Tiro, XVII. = M. Tullius Tiro, Cicero's freedman and biographer.

Toranius, XXI. An otherwise unknown orator.

Tullius, M., XX. Raised an action against one of Sulla's veterans, who had taken forcible possession of his villa at Thurii. Cicero acted as his advocate, and delivered two speeches (72 or 71 B.C.), the second of which exists in a fragmentary condition. The other is wholly lost.

Turpio, XX. L. Ambivius Turpio, the most famous actor of his time. He was a contemporary of Cato the censor, in the first half of the second century B.C., and appeared in many of the plays of Terence.

ULIXES, XVI. Cited by Aper as a model of Homeric oratory.

Urbinia, XXXVIII. A Roman lady whose estate became the subject of litigation after her decease.

VARIUS, XII. = L. Varius Rufus, the friend of Virgil and Horace (74–14 B.C.), who had gained a high reputation as an epic poet before he took to tragedy.

Varro, XXIII. = M. Terentius Varro, 116–27 B.C., a man of the widest accomplishments — historian, grammarian, antiquarian, as well as orator.

Vatinius, P., XXI, XXXIV, XXXIX. He was tribune in 59 B.C., when he espoused Caesar's interests, and next year became consul along with Bibulus. He was subsequently accused at least three times by Calvus, and Cicero, who had originally been on the other side, was induced by Caesar to defend him (54 B.C.).

Vatinius, XI. The cobbler from Beneventum, one of the most disreputable of Nero's favourites, of whom Tacitus gives a famous description in *Ann.* XV. 34.

Vercellae, VIII. City in Cisalpine Gaul.

Vergilius. = P. Vergilius Maro, XII, XIII, XX, XXIII.

Verres, C., XX, XXXVII. The famous, or infamous, governor of Sicily (73–71 B.C.), whose misdeeds were exposed by Cicero in his Verrine orations.

Vespasianus, VIII, IX, XVII. = T. Flavius Vespasianus, Roman emperor from Dec. A.D. 69 to 79.

Vibius. *See* Crispus.

Vipstanus. *See* Messalla.

Vitellius, XVII. Aulus Vitellius, emperor from April to December A.D. 69 (or only to July 1 of that year, if we take the date on which Vespasian was saluted as emperor by the army in the East).

XENOPHON, XXXI. The well-known Greek historian, 434–355 B.C.

AGRICOLA

I. PROPER NAMES

AGRICOLA, *passim*.
Alban citadel, XLV.
Aquitaine, IX.
Arulenus, II, XLV.
Asia, VI, XLII.
Atticus, XXXVII.
Augustus, XIII.

BATAVI, XXXVI.
Bodotria (Forth), XXIII, XXV.
Bolanus, VIII, XVI.
Boresti, XXXVIII.
Boudicca, XVI.
Brigantes, XVII, XXXI.
Britanni, *passim*.
Britannia, X, XII, XIII–XVII, XXXIII, XL.

CAESAR, Gaius (Caligula), IV, XIII, XLIV.
„ Julius, XIII, XV.
„ Nerva, III.
„ Trajan, III, XLIV.
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The Spanish traders, to avoid the storms of the Bay of Biscay, appear to have launched themselves well to the west in their trading voyages: hence the first land they made was Ireland rather than Great Britain. To this cause is perhaps due the geographical displacement of these islands in the maps of the old geographers, and Tacitus, if he misconceived geography, was right enough about trade routes.

The idea of the Pyrenees running north and south was common to the geographers up to and including Strabo, and may well have been shared by Tacitus.

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